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PIUS THE NINTH;

OR, THE

FIRST YEAR OF HIS PONTIFICATE.

BY

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OF THE PONTIFICAL ACADEMY OF THE

LINCEI, AT ROME,

AND

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OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

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CHAPTER I.

The political talent of Pius IX. in the midst of appalling difficulties—The Holy Alliance—Moral Force the strongest weapon—the reconciliation of the two *transteverini*—Cicesbeos—the oath of Vengeance—Opposition of the Sacred College—Tender of resignation by Cardinal Gizzi—The Pope's refusal—Memorable Admonition to the Cardinals—Popes Pius and Sixtus—The Council of State—Progress of Italy—Railroads—Public fêtes at Perugia and Macerate in honor of the Pope—The Circular of Cardinal Gizzi—Public Education—Ecclesiastical Reform—False idea of secularisation—Memorable words of the Cardinal Justiniani—Of the composition of the Pontifical Administration—Consistory of the 22nd of September—The Cardinals Amat and Ciachi—Vengeance of the People at Foligno.

THE past life of Mastai Ferreti to which we devoted the first volume of this work, as a necessary introduction to the history of Pius IX., must have led the world to the brightest anti-

cipations of the future, and we shall now proceed to exhibit the Sovereign Pontiff under all the noble aspects of his character, and in those complicated details in our progress towards that future, which are so essentially connected with the destinies of Italy.

The task we have undertaken is the more pleasing, inasmuch as, that history has nowhere presented more conspicuously to our notice a sovereign who merits the love and veneration of his people than Pius IX; never was a lofty brow better fitted to bear the triple crown, nor hands more firm to wield the sceptre, before which the princes of Italy incline themselves, while it inspires all nations and all faiths with reverence and respect.

We have seen the innumerable difficulties which surrounded the Pontiff on every side, when he mounted the chair of St. Peter; the whole system of society required reformation—there were numberless abuses to extirpate from the bosom of a corrupted government—but we

have also seen how in a few weeks the Holy Father remedied every evil, reconciled the people to the sovereign by means of his goodness, generosity, and affection—that he accomplished marvels in policy, in legislation, and the administration of affairs, in the midst of a people to whom political faith or consistency was a stranger, eaten up with scepticism, and a prey to despair, shewing that few princes have ever united in themselves so many qualities for government. Of a sincere and generous heart, naturally formed to create and maintain friendships, Pius IX, joins to the dignity of a Sovereign Pontiff that quality of mercy which enhances every action of grace ; and such are the attributes of his mind, that he distinguishes with fidelity the justice of the cause, adding additional weight to the firmness and solidity of his decisions in matters of business.

Not only has his admirable talent adapted itself to all the details of his kingdom in the reformation of bad laws and antiquated customs,

the correction of abuses, the police of the towns and rural districts, the punishment of scandalous vices ; and by his authority and example the stimulation of the people to acts of virtue and piety, as well as the protection of the Church and its ministers (and sometimes the protection of the former against the ministers themselves) and securing their rights and liberties and the guidance of his people as his own children ; but his mind embraces the wisest views of foreign policy, commerce and political economy, by which he has secured the love, reverence and obedience of his subjects ; while he causes his name to be feared by neighbouring princes, not for the terror of his arms, but solely because he aims at making the Italian Peninsula one and the same family, to unite them under the same laws, and bring about that union and good understanding which shall make them the terror of all the tyrants of the earth.

Pius IX. desires to efface from the Princes of Italy the stain and reproach of exercising the

sovereign authority over the people as in the bygone ages of darkness, suppressing all the elements of society, such as the press, and the exchange of ideas, the new modes of transport, and the gigantic power of machinery, introduced in this century; of intercepting the relations between people and people, the interchange of intelligence between government and government, of suppressing every project of grandeur, of striking, with the stamp of impotency and immovability, man, whose nature it is to progress; to lie in the face of holy scripture, which they invoke as the law of God, and of the age in which they live, to falsify their engagements, to violate human character and dignity, in the persons of their subjects, and finally to despair of that Providence to whom they address vows, both impious and sacrilegious, because they are inconsequent and insincere.

Such is the whole history of Pius IX, a statesman, temporal sovereign, and Pope

purely spiritual, who has immortalized the tiara, to which his predecessor, John XXII., added the triple crown, and is the only power capable of breaking the mis-called Holy Alliance, a project by which Italy was subjected to the system of morselling and division, unsuited to the present state of civilization, although once the glory of the state, and has thus ensured by moral force, that which Napoleon was unable to accomplish by force of arms.

Pius IX. is, at this day, the only representative of exclusive moral force upon the earth—it is by moral force alone that he has conquered his throne and his people, and we shall see, hereafter, this irresistible moral force conduct him without treasure and without armies, to the victory of all Italy, in the manner of the ancient Bishops of the wooden crosier, who converted the world.

A circumstance well worthy of remark, and to remain engraven on the memory of man as a characteristic trait in the portrait of

Pius IX. is, that from all time the governments which have established themselves, have ever displayed a great severity, have adopted the forms of despotism, reserving the power at a future period to return to milder measures, while the new Sovereign Pontiff prepares, more like a father than a master, the destinies of his new subjects. Is it not that, as the sovereign priest of a religion of love and peace, he considers fear and terror as the means which conduce only to hatred and hypocrisy !

One month had scarcely elapsed from the period of his enthronement, before the enthusiasm lighted up in the hearts of the Italians, from one end of the Peninsula to the other, displayed itself under an infinite variety of forms and aspects. We have already shown how the joy of the people manifested itself in outward signs, while in the hearts of the Romans the name of Pius IX. possessed a magical influence, and acted like a talisman in reducing the fiercest spirit into calm and

tranquillity, in the midst of popular excitement and political tempests, more terrible than the waves of the ocean.

One day, two of the lower orders, inhabitants of the *Transteverini*, armed with knives or stiletos, threw themselves upon each other in the streets, and commenced a fearful conflict, in which the death of one, if not both—(a circumstance by no means rare)—seemed evident. At this instant Providence directed to the spot, which had been devoted to blood, a Christian spirit, who, in separating the combatants, their eyes inflamed with deadly hate, cried—“My friends, would you kill each other?—You are no longer the children of Pius IX.—there is pardon for revolt—forgiveness even for those who have been condemned by the law, and cannot you forgive each other for a foolish joke—a simple quarrel—come, come, my friends, shake hands, and let us all cry ‘Long live Pius IX.’”

It is almost needless to observe that the

good man's advice was followed, and the parties were instantly reconciled.

At the name of Pius IX. hundreds of families, divided by dissensions, have been reunited, and the peace of the domestic hearth has been re-established; brothers have restored to their hearts those feelings which should never have deserted them, and the Romans have even returned to the faith of conjugal virtue.

In the 17th century, the reign of great men was succeeded by that of the *Cicesbeos*, who banished all domestic peace and purity in such a manner, that the Italians, oppressed by foreigners, or barbarians, as they still call them, were necessitated to succumb to the attacks of coxcombs. The wife had forfeited all pretension to the character of a companion to her husband, or the friendly associate of his existence, and the husband no longer found in her a counsellor in his doubts and difficulties, a support in his adversity, or a consolation in

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despair; this wretched state of immorality had become habitual, when Pius IX. by the simple effect of the revolution, which he implanted in the vital part of the Roman States, restored domestic peace and conjugal fidelity, and the *Cicesbeo* now belongs only to the history of the degradation and the foulest days of Italy.

At this period, a singular event took place at Rome, upon the octave of San Pietro a vinculis. At an early hour of the morning, about sixty persons were seen wending their way slowly and in perfect silence, towards the Church of that name;—they were the amnestied political offenders, young and old, from Civita Vecchia, Civita Castellana, and the Castle of St. Angelo, going to return thanks for their liberation at the chains of St. Peter. On that day, one among them, had forgotten, while at the foot of the altar, the oath he had taken to destroy his enemy, who had unjustly sent him to the galleys of Civita Vecchia, in order

that he might, during his imprisonment, the more easily seduce his young and beautiful wife, whom he loved dearer than himself, That very day the wretched seducer, alarmed by the re-appearance of his victim, and certain of the fate which awaited him, executed justice upon himself like Judas, and hung himself behind the palace of Cæsar.

It is an imposing spectacle, to observe the succession and development of acts of the Roman Pontiff, and their influence upon the public mind, so much has this prince amazed the world. Generally speaking, institutions, favourable to power, spring forth, and march with gigantic strides, while liberal institutions are begotten, brought to maturity, and supported by toil and labour alone. Under the government of Pius IX., the reverse has happily become the rule; freedom, outraged by the princes, envelops itself under his shadow, and the liberty protected in Rome, is embellished by his glory.

One day, the Pope presided over a general assembly of the cardinals, summoned to receive a communication of great importance. Cardinal Gizzi had just entered upon his functions as Minister Secretary of State, and was reading before the Grand Areopagus, a project of reform, which he had assisted his sovereign to bring about. This project, full of liberal and generous principles suited to the wants of the state, was received with murmurs of disapprobation on the part of the majority of the Sacred College. The Pope listened in silence, without appearing to notice the opposition which manifested itself; the minister, on his part, also continued, until the interruption to the reading of the project of the hardy reformers became so violent that Cardinal Gizzi put down the paper, turned towards the Pope, and addressed him, saying,

“Holy Father, shall I continue?”

Pius IX. nodded affirmatively; but on recommencing his task, at a fresh article of the

project, the murmurs redoubled, and the Secretary of State was compelled to stop short.

"You see, Holy Father, the opposition of their Eminences compels me to resign those functions which your Holiness had conferred upon me—permit me to lay at your feet the resignation of my office."

"It is impossible for us to accept it," replied the Pope; "your good and loyal services are too important to the happiness of my people to permit us to replace you by another less zealous, and less talented, perhaps. Remain where you are."

At this critical moment, the Holy Father turned, with sovereign dignity, towards the refractory cardinals, and added, still addressing the minister of state, Gizzi,

"If these gentlemen will not have me Pius, they shall have me Sixtus."

All the popes of the name of Pius, from the first who reigned in 142, until the last, who died in 1830, were princes remarkable for the

mildness of their disposition, and the greater part of them martyrs, while, on the other hand, all those of the name of Sixtus, from the first, who was elected in 119, up to Sixtus V., who died in 1590, were haughty, determined and severe. But that which distinguishes Sixtus V. above all was, that he did nothing like his predecessors. To act always with rigor and violence when a simple monk, suddenly to subdue the impetuosity of his temper, when cardinal, to pretend that he was incapable, from disease, for the conduct of affairs, and above all, to reign for a period of fifteen years, in order that he might the more easily, when the period arrived, obtain the suffrages of those who hoped to reign in his name, and when elected, to resume all his fire, upon the moment of taking possession of the throne, to institute during his pontificate unheard of severity, and an unknown grandeur in all his enterprises, to destroy the bandits, by the force of his laws, without having recourse to troops, to make

himself the terror of the world by his position and his character—these acts have conspired to place his name amongst the most illustrious of sovereigns.

This powerful apostrophe of Pius IX., although indirect, proved that he considered his position in all the gravity of its bearings, and his readiness to combat with vigour against the resistance of faction, or ill-will, and it is evident that these obstacles cast in his way, had no other effect than to accelerate his progress by the impulse given to his thoughts.

Three months had scarcely elapsed since the election of the Pontiff, when the Romans were astonished at all they had obtained, for Pius IX. had effectually cemented all parts of his liberal and progressive government. One grand institution eminently signalised the regeneration of Italy—this was the creation of a council of state, destined to prepare the way, and harmonise the wise measures adopted by his predecessors with those of the new reign. The

cardinal secretary of state, Gizzi, was named president of the council, and among the first propositions submitted to this new junta, the most remarkable were, first a better distribution of administrative affairs amongst the different public offices, and, secondly, the institution of a council of ministers for the purpose of discussing all matters deemed worthy the attention of the different branches of the administration, and charged to give its opinion, to be submitted finally to the decision of the sovereign.

The junta, which sat, for the first time, on the 7th of October, 1846, offered every desirable guarantee by its composition, for amongst its members were found Mgr. Marini, the new governor of Rome, and director-general of the police; the treasurer-general, Mgr. Antonelli, minister of war; the secretary of the *sacra consulta*, Mgr. Roberti; the two prelates Mgr. Corboli, for foreign-affairs, and Mgr. Santucci, of the home

department, and the Pope named Mgr. Rusconi, his almoner, as secretary to the council.

But his efforts were not confined to the institution of the Council, for already promises had been made for the establishment of railroads, in which some progress had been effected, the extension of education, ecclesiastical reform, and prison discipline, municipal representation, the revision of the civil, criminal and administrative codes, and the re-organization of the financial system. How distressing to have witnessed before this period, Italy stationary in the midst of events which have contributed and contribute daily to the progress of commerce and navigation in the 19th. century; such as the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, the independence of Brazil erected into an empire, the formation of the kingdom of Greece, the importance acquired by Egypt under the energetic government of Mehemet Ali, the abolition of piracy in the Mediterranean, the colonization and the formation of an Empire in

the North of Africa, the gigantic application of steam for the transport of men and merchandise, by land and by sea, the rapid communication established, by these means, between the centre and the sea-ports of most kingdoms, between Europe and America by the Atlantic Ocean, between India and Egypt by the Red Sea, and the west by the Mediterranean, and the Danube; the entire suppression of the slave trade, and the abolition of slavery; finally the gradual downfall of the prohibitive system of the customs.

What an imposing spectacle it is to behold a nation's regeneration effected by its own exertions, without seeking the aid or protection of a jealous or ambitious neighbour, for which, sooner or later it pays but too dearly! Thus the Roman government determined upon opening six lines of rail-road:—1. from Rome to the frontier of Naples,—2. from Rome to Civita Vecchia,—3. from Civita Vecchia to the frontier of Tuscany. On the other side from Bologna

to the frontier of Tuscany,—5. from Bologna to Ferrara, and finally from Forli to Ravenna. The plan was to carry on the works at the expense of the state conjointly with joint stock companies. The total length of the six lines would be about 1025 kilometres or 620 miles, and would cost £10,500,000 sterling. The line from Bologna to Rome, and Civita Vecchia was estimated at 25,000,000 scudi, or £3,000,000.

This positive proof of the wise determination of the Sovereign Pontiff in favour of public works, which was calculated to create so profound a sensation in the financial affairs of the Roman states, and to give employment to such vast numbers of its people, produced unabated enthusiasm in favour of the Pope throughout the pontifical dominions. At Perugia a banquet took place on the 20th. in the Avenue of the Villa of Count Dandini, at which 1,500 persons were present. Among the guests were several who had repaired thither from Gubbio and

Foligno, preceded by bands of music, with banners unfurled, on which were inscribed "Speranza," hope. The banquetting tent was decorated with flags bearing the same inscription. A similar feast in honour of Pius IX. had been given at Fermo, at which 300 inhabitants of Macerate assisted.

On the 24th August 1846, Cardinal Gizzi, the truly energetic Secretary of State, the right hand of his Sovereign, addressed the following circular to the Governors of the Roman provinces upon the subject of education :

" Most Illustrious and Reverend Lords,

" The crimes, and amongst these the quarrels and thefts that too frequently occur in every province of the Pontifical State, have induced the Government to provide as it does, not only the means of repression corresponding to the instant urgent necessity, but to prevent them by wise measures that will remove the causes, or at least diminish the pernicious influence of them.

" First among these we cannot but notice idleness, to which a portion of the youths and the peasantry

have given themselves up, and thence the necessity of procuring some useful occupation—and above all, of watching over the right education of the boys who abandoned to themselves, would give cause to apprehend a worse future.

“His Holiness, penetrated with the great importance of this truth, has ordered that the attention of the heads of the province should be called to this subject, in order that they may, in conjunction with the local magistrates, withdraw the youth from idleness by employing them in works of public utility, and—availing themselves of the assistance of the zealous ministers of the sanctuary, and of the nobility,—may, as has occurred in different parts, lend their aid in extending, everywhere, the civil and religious education of the lowest class of the people.

“In order to effect this desirable object, the most fitting opportunity will be seized on to unite in Rome, in a suitable place, a number of youths of the said class, in order to teach them some trade by which they may gain, in due time, their livelihood, and at the same time to induce some of them to enter the military service. Two important advantages will accrue from this course :—First, the estrangement of them from the nurseries of bad habits, and from the immediate danger of becoming hurtful to society and to the quiet of the respectable portion of the population ; secondly, there will be formed from them a seminary of good soldiers, and especially of

able subalterns, capable of forming a regular, well-disciplined body of soldiers, and sufficient for the wants of the state.

“In order to give fuller development to this important proceeding according to different local circumstances, the Holy Father, in his wisdom, has deigned to enjoin that your Excellencies should take the pains to examine the different temperaments and to form plans as to the mode of carrying the object into execution.

“And in order that you may be furnished with proper means for ensuring success, he desires that, besides using your Episcopal authority in that part which relates especially to civil and religious education, you should employ the intelligence of the municipal magistrates and of the provincial council in order to ascertain the amount of contribution necessary for the maintenance of the individuals collected in that establishment in proportion to the number that will be selected from each place, it being understood that the Government will contribute to an amount compatible with the means of the Treasury.

“This beneficent project, so fruitful in useful results in a religious, moral, and civil point of view, furnishes a new proof of the earnestness with which His Holiness turns his attention to promote the real, positive, and practical good of his kingdom and of his beloved subjects. To this good end will always be

directed the thoughts of His Holiness, intimately persuaded as he is, that from the attainment of it alone can the prosperity of his people be obtained—and not from the adoption of certain theories which from their nature are inapplicable to the situation and to the genius of the states of the Church ; or by lending himself to certain tendencies from which His Holiness himself is entirely averse. Theories and tendencies that would manifestly compromise that internal and external tranquillity which is necessary to every Government that wishes to procure the well-being of its subjects.

“The Holy Father is persuaded that your Excellencies, animated, like himself, with distinguished zeal in the public service, will use every effort to correspond with wonted exactitude to this sovereign trust, and reckons at the same time on the activity and efficacious co-operation of the Bishops, of the magistrates, and of the councils of the provinces ; and I myself expect ere long to learn the result.

“P. CARDINAL GIZZI.”

On the same day, the Congregation of Education, also forwarded circulars to all the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical states, enjoining them to transmit their reports upon the state

of education in the Colleges and Lyceums, of their respective dioceses.

The reforms of the Ecclesiastical Order were perhaps more important than all the others, inasmuch as they attacked a position hitherto regarded as impregnable. The Pope had turned his thoughts towards the discipline of the Church; and he must indeed have felt his strength in daring to apply the axe to the root of ecclesiastical abuses—he must have felt that he possessed the love of his people, the veneration of a united nation, that he was sustained by the unanimous and cordial support of the Catholic world before he undertook so hazardous a task: but that which would have been impossible to another, became easy to Pius IX.

A false idea of the intentions of the Pope upon this subject, was generally entertained; it was thought first of all, he had imagined a project of secularisation. The Camerlengo, Cardinal Prince Justiniani, said, in 1840, “if they secularise the administration, Rome will

no longer exist." In fact the administrative posts are not exclusively occupied by the clergy in the Pontifical dominions ; there are on the contrary more lay members, than ecclesiastical. That which induces a contrary opinion, is the fact of the Cardinals holding the highest offices in the state, the rigorous effect of which is to cause it to be believed that the other offices devolve equally upon the Clergy. With respect to the high offices they could not be held by any others than the Cardinals, who are all *virtute officii* members of the government, by the same title, or nearly so, as the senators, peers, and deputies of constitutional governments, where, in almost every country, the greatest personages hold the greatest places of trust, so that in fact there is very little difference between that which passes in Rome, in London, or Paris. Profound reasons, religious, social, and political, which have established the necessity of the temporal power of the Pope, obliges him to confer the highest offices

upon the College of Cardinals. Independently of which a Cardinal is more accessible to the people by reason of his sacred and paternal character, a position which should offer a stronger guarantee to the attainment of justice at his hands than from a layman; but these are not the difficulties, they consist principally in the choice of men—Cardinals and prelates. This is the problem submitted to consideration, one which is on the point of being resolved by Pius IX. The proper choice of Cardinals and Prelates, is the result of tact for the present, and experience for the future. Pius IX. knows man by experience, therefore his tact will not be imperfect, considering the advantages he will derive in his selection of Cardinals. As the youngest of the sacred college, he has every reason to count upon a certain number of vacancies which will enable him to select men of ability to second his liberal and enlightened views.

An opportunity occurred, the 22nd. Sep-

tember 1846, in a secret consistory at the Quirinal, where it appeared the Pope had already provided for six dioceses, of great importance, which had become vacant. At the same time Cardinal Gizzi sent Cardinal Amat to Bologna, and Cardinal Ciacchi to Forli. He dispatched to Ferrara and Ravenna, other Cardinals opposed to the political views of Austria; all other nominations were conducted in the same wise and political spirit. For instance Mgr. Batuffi, Archbishop of Pergi, and secretary of the Congregation of Bishops, well known by the manner in which he executed his mission to New Grenada, was named successor to Pius IX. in the diocese of Imola, which is a species of probation or designation for the next Cardinal's hat. While the Pope recompenses the merits of enlightened priests, the people undertake to punish those who retrograde; thus at Foligno the inhabitants pelted the Governor out of the Town, when the government dismissed him from his office.

CHAPTER II.

Political opinion of the Pope—Congregation de l'Index—A deplorable event—Feast of the Nativity—Charity to the Jews—The Austrian Ambassador and the Pope—Opinion of the English Press—Deputation from the *transteverino*—The Pope and the Carman—The soldiers' rations—The secret police—Poor girl of the Ghetto—Repression of popular rejoicings—The Basilian Nuns.

THE series of facts which we have already placed before the reader, show the firm and steady steps with which Pius IX. marches onward, to accomplish the happiness of his people: strong in his right, and confident in the support of his subjects, he seeks the internal and

permanent pacification of a country so long agitated by secular revolutions. It is scarcely possible to imagine the amount of resistance offered to the smallest project of improvement, what then could be expected, when the master mind of the new Pontiff sought, to effect such mighty changes, amongst a people accustomed to revolutions and misfortune for a period of two thousand years?—but it was in his own intelligent mind, and profound wisdom, as well as in the love of his people, that Pius IX. found the support necessary to enable him worthily to fulfil his mission. In vain did certain Cardinals spread before his eyes the standard of revolt, seeking to discourage and intimidate him by the danger of his concessions; but the Sovereign Pontiff remained inflexible, his determination was unshaken—

“Why speak to me of revolutions,” said the Pope, “Abuses are the rebels which sap the foundations of empires—Reforms, on the contrary, re-establish and preserve them—they

do more;—they give them new vigour and vitality—I have placed all my hope in God, and the love of my people, that love which is a quickening law, and which can alone resuscitate the elements so long stricken with death.”

How much it is to be desired that all the Sovereigns of Italy participated with Pius IX. in this just and beautiful sentiment—they would find that the most powerful sovereign is not the King who possesses the largest armies, but he who has the greater number of friends amongst his people.

At this period of the year (24th. August) appeared the first decree of the *Congregation de l'Index*, prohibiting the Bible, with Annotations by Mr. Lamennais; a poem by Mr. Rossetti, a professor of King's College, London; and A History of Freemasonry. This decree created some sensation in Rome, without, however, decreasing the popularity of the Pope, for the people

understood the position of their Sovereign, and never ceased to accompany their manifestations of joy by the encouraging cry of "*coraggio ! Pio nono, coraggio !*" At this time a deplorable event connected with the known opposition of many of the Cardinals and high clergy to the projected reforms of the Pope, occurred at Faenza—A revenue officer having refused to participate in the machinations of the *Sanfedisti* against Pius IX. fell a victim to his devotion. He had expressed an intention of going to Rome, and fearing that his real object was to inform against them, they shot him. The crime was scarcely perpetrated, when the *Sanfedisti*, who were anxiously awaiting the result in the streets, cried out, "Behold the fruits of the Amnesty !" wishing to cast suspicion upon the liberated political offenders, and at the same time, censure upon the act of Amnesty itself, but happily the victim of this cowardly conspiracy had still life enough left to denounce his murderers before

he expired, as well as the motives of their act. His depositions were taken, and confirmed by seventeen witnesses. The whole population of Faenza, without distinction, followed the murdered man to the grave. Public opinion pointed to the *Sanfedisti* also as the murderers of the Swiss Colonel, whose assassination was detailed in the first volume, p. 311. These murders show the difficulties against which the Pope had to contend in the introduction of his reforms, yet he did not suffer himself to be discouraged in the midst of those grand projects for the reduction of the Swiss guards, the diminution of the number of Convents, and the fixation of the revenues of the church.

The 8th September, the feast of the Nativity, is always a great day in Rome, being celebrated with a pomp and magnificence unknown to any other country. This year the Romans determined to profit by the occasion, in order to mark their sense of the character of their new Sovereign, the chief of the

Roman Catholic Church—and it might have been called the *fête* of the people, as each family contributed a sum of money to defray the expenses. The following graphic account of the proceedings, from the pen of an eyewitness, must be read with interest, as confirmatory of the enthusiasm and affection of the Romans towards their Prince.

“During several days an extraordinary excitement manifested itself on all the routes in the environs of Rome. Albano, Frascati, Tivoli, Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, and the neighbouring villages had no more vehicles to convey to the capital the curious who were anxious to assist at the triumph which Rome was preparing for Pius IX.

The 7th. “The evening, after the first Vespers, the town was illuminated. On all sides, the workman had fixed up magnificent canopies around the Madonnas. During the night, a grand triumphal arch was completed, and at almost all the windows were placed

transparencies and inscriptions in honor of the Pope.

“The morning of the 8th, was unclouded; the first rays of the sun saluted one of the finest days of Rome; and an immense crowd admired the magnificent decorations which adorned the houses and palaces of the Corso.

“All emulated each other in zeal, enthusiasm, and magnificence. The decorations that are seen on grand festival days, give no idea of that which called forth admiration on this occasion. The yellow and white canopies, ornamented with fringes of gold, the damask, the garlands of flowers, arranged with inimitable art, formed from the Piazza Veneziana to the Palazzo del Popolo, a spectacle impossible to be described. Vases ornamented with leaves of laurel, and bearing crowns and banners with the Pope's arms emblazoned on them, were erected, at intervals of six feet, the whole length of the street. The arch of triumph of Constantine was raised as it were by enchantment on the

Piazza del Popolo. On the top was placed a colossal group representing the clemency of the Pope ; eight statues representing the eight Pontifical provinces adorned it, and completed its majestic whole. The skill of the talented sculptor, Tenerani, was visible throughout.

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“ Few cities could offer anything analogous to the scene on this occasion ; women of the highest ranks of society, dressed in the height of Parisian fashion ; other women of the great city with their graceful costumes ; from the Roman Campagna, with those costumes of which painters have availed themselves with such effect in many of their masterpieces ; others in dresses of the most brilliant hues, with their children in their arms ; mountaineers ; fishermen, with those fine heads which have furnished studies for the most eminent painters ; religious of the various orders, in their habits of forms and colours so varied and austere ; the humble Capuchin, the dominican, attracting the eye by the whiteness of his

mantle; the poor Christian Brother, known by his simplicity and demeanour; numerous pupils of colleges, dressed in red and violet; priests and young orphans in white. At nine o'clock His Holiness entered the Corso, a shower of flowers and wreaths fell on his carriage. From all the windows and from every story the Holy Father was saluted with the most endearing epithets, and the most filial acclamation. A troop of young persons bearing branches of olive, and preceded by a white banner, on which was inscribed—'Justitia et Pax,' joined the *cortège* on the Piazza Quirinal, and walked before it. The horses went at a foot pace. The carriage could scarcely move on, so great was the crowd. The Cardinals Ferretti and Falconieri were in the carriage of His Holiness. In the meantime, the *cortège* approached the Palazzo del Popolo, receiving everywhere the same testimonies of enthusiasm, and devotedness.

"After having heard Mass in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, the Pope returned to his palace in the same order.

“ The rumour had spread that, though not usual, the Pope would, at the Quirinal, give the Solemn Benediction. Every one hastened to obtain a favorable position. The dense masses accumulated in consequence near the Quirinal, scarcely allowed room for the carriage of the Pope. The emotion of feeling that the Sovereign Pontiff had so long suppressed now became evident to every one. . . . For some time there was an anxiety of suspense as to the probability of the rumoured Benediction. At length, a movement among the military reanimated the hopes of the people ; all eyes were turned towards the palace ; a window opened ; a carpet of velvet was rapidly thrown on the balustrade ; some body guards arranged themselves in groups, with several prelates on the balcony ; loud cheers hailed the appearance of the Maestro di Camera ; a moment after the Sovereign Pontiff appeared, a tremendous shout was heard ; it continued notwithstanding the repeated signals of the Cardinals ; the Pope extended his hand to impose silence ; in a

moment all was hushed, a silence, more expressive than any language, prevailed, when the Pope said in a strong voice, full of emotion:—‘*Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.*’ and the crowd responded with one voice:—‘*Qui fecit cælum et terram.*’ and the Pope continued:—‘*Benedicat nos Omnipotens Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.*’ to which the whole people answered:—‘*Amen.*’ and retired peaceably.”

A few days after this brilliant *fête*, the Pope caused 350 scudi to be distributed to the poor jews of the Ghetto, together with an immense supply of bread, in order that none of his subjects should be forgotten in the general joy of the occasion.

The evident manifestation of the people's love for Pius IX., as evinced on the memorable *fête* of the nativity, was not without its political effect upon the minds of those who had shown such hostility to the new government.

Some demonstrations on the part of the

people, by no means agreeable to the Austrian Ambassador, induced the Count de Lutzow to complain to the Pontiff, whose reply was a model of dignity.

“As the head of the church,” said the Pope, “I hold in my hands the keys of St. Peter; they are more powerful than the armies of the Emperor. I am king and sovereign in Rome, as he is in Vienna, and as such, with perfect independence, I shall govern and administer my states in such a manner as shall seem to me best suited to the wants and the happiness of my people.”

These words, which admit of no reply, tend to prove how painful the position of an ambassador may be rendered, under certain circumstances.

The observations of the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 17th of September, 1846, seem to us too important to be omitted, as they evince the soundest judgment, and an accurate knowledge of the state of affairs in the Italian peninsula.

“We have, for a long time, been watching with much anxiety for the first indication of a reaction on the part of Austria, against the system which has been promulgated at Rome since the accession of the present Pope. What may have been the secret machinations of diplomatic agents—what the hidden machinery that may have been put in action by the cabinet of Vienna, we do not pretend to say; the very nature of the transactions would render any affectation of private information on the subject simply ridiculous. We can only treat of the present position of the pontifical states as one of gross results.

“No effectual interference then, on the part of Austria, appears to have taken place with the object of neutralizing the beneficent efforts of the present Pope. Does she perceive that any such interference would be idle in the state of the actual diplomatic relations between France and Rome, and that the effect of objections too strenuously urged would simply be to

precipitate the papal government into the arms of Count Rossi? Is Austria still wasting, and watching and watching, and not interfering as yet, because as yet, interference would be premature? Or, finally, is she contentedly acquiescing in the commencement of a slow development of Italian liberties, by peaceable means, since such a development is inevitable, and has now become a mere question of time?

“We are inclined to think that an hypothesis, compounded of the two last suppositions, would be more correct than any other, and would more aptly describe the present temper of the cabinet of Vienna. Austria, still sovereign of Upper Italy, and paramount in the kingdom of Naples—not to speak of her traditionary and necessary alliance with the king of Sardinia, and her ties of blood with the grand duchy of Tuscany—is not likely to aim at exchanging this tranquil domination for a state of armed opposition to the genius of revolution. With

all the bayonets that she could command beyond the Po, and the legions she could pour down to their support, through the passes of the Tyrol, she is aware that she would be no match for the metaphysical force which has recently arisen in central Italy, of which the director is the Pope, and the point of departure—Rome. We have a strong opinion that the cabinet of Vienna will provoke no contest, and if the plans of the Pope, for the regeneration of Italy, are carried out with a prudence equal to the purity and loftiness of his aims, that they will acquiesce in the change. It is but giving Prince Metternich credit for political astuteness, and appreciation of the spirit of the time, to suppose that this will be the result.

“We must confess that we have, for a long time, been of those who looked with a kind of despair at the situation of Italy. We could see no path, which did not run ankle-deep in blood, that could lead the people of Italy into the light of political liberty, but the slow agency

of commerce, and the gradual rise of an intelligent and opulent middle-class. It needed no magician to tell us that when the peninsula was intersected in every direction by railroads, and the inhabitants of Naples, Rome, Florence, Leghorn, Padua, Venice, Genoa, Turin, &c., were brought into daily contact with each other, and united for common ends of enterprise and traffic; that the chains which had been rivetted on the country by a military despotism would have dropped off of themselves. This, however, was, from its nature, a long and tedious process, and the sympathies of all humane men must still have been shocked, over and over again, by the suppression of partial risings, begun in madness, discomfited by treachery, and expiated in blood. One of the most pleasing aspects under which we view the beneficent exertions of his Holiness is, that we may now indulge the hope that these useless sacrifices will be done with for ever. There is now no excuse for men who simply die for

Italy ; they have before them a more hopeful, a more trying, and a nobler task—which is, to *live* for their country's sake. Italy now asks of her children a laborious devotion of heart and intellect, through a long life, and not a frantic suicide in a moment of despair.

“It is fitting and proper that this movement should come from Rome. Neither religion nor liberty will lose by dwelling together in that city. It would seem that the Papal power is now about to pay back the debt which had been too long accumulating against its name, and that the greatness of its expiation will cause the injuries it has inflicted upon the political liberties of Italy to be forgotten. Nothing could be fairer than the beginnings of the present Pope. The spirit which actuates his measures is more promising even than the measures themselves. He is not only acting with justice towards men of his own generation, but laying a foundation for the future, against which all the efforts of the advocates of a retrogressive policy

will be useless. We do not now speak of the pardon extended to refugees; of the employment of laymen in Government Offices; of the permission given for the construction of railroads through his dominions; of the exertions made to negotiate commercial treaties with foreign powers—even with the Ottoman Porte;—all these measures are evidence of a large and philanthropic mind. But to our apprehension they sink into nothingness when compared with the efforts the Pope is making for the establishment of a system of education in his dominions, the effects of which will be felt long after he is called away to receive, elsewhere, the reward of his exertions. We allude more particularly to a document (bearing date August 29th.) which has been promulgated by Cardinal Gizzi, the Secretary of State to Pope Pius IX. In this paper his Eminence recognises the principle, that a defective education is one of the main causes of the crimes that are unfortunately numerous in the Pontifical states. The edu-

cation which this enlightened Churchman contemplates, as a remedy for the condition of affairs, is not one to be organised purely by Churchmen. He calls upon the heads of Provinces as well as the Magistracy, noble and honest citizens—as well as the Ministers of the Sanctuary, to unite in the execution of the good work. Two immediate results are contemplated from this system. First the reclaiming of the parties themselves from their evil courses, and the benefit of the honest and peaceable classes of society; second, the creation of a body of men qualified to serve God in Church and State, according to our own phrase, as well as in military posts. Civil as well as religious education is aimed at, and it is announced that the Government will be prepared largely to contribute from its own resources towards the realization of the scheme.

“This document is furthermore important as a declaration of principle: these are the means by which his Holiness intends to work, not by

the adoption of wild theories, upon which, even amongst theoretical men, great differences of opinion exist, and which are utterly unfitted towards the actual situation of the Church—theories, *che, di loro natura, sono inapplicabili alla situazione ed all'indole dello stato della chiesa, e che comprometterebbero manifestamente quella tranquillità interna ed esterna di cui abbisogna ogni Governo che ami di procurare il ben essere de' suoi sudditi.*

The policy of Pius IX. is then likely to be a policy of tendencies, and so is the more likely to be allowed to work out its ends without any opposition from Austria. We are happy that it is so, for the policy of Pius IX. is identical with the regeneration of Italy and the general interests of mankind."

To have omitted one line of an article so wise and moderate, and at the same time so thoroughly in accordance with the views with which we are impressed, would have been as great an act of

injustice towards the writer, and the journal from which it emanates as to ourselves, for it is impossible that a clearer view of the circumstances could be taken, or a more accurate knowledge of parties displayed by any man, or that the bright hopes and anticipations of new Italy could be more forcibly and faithfully delineated.

One day great excitement prevailed in the quarter of the Transteverino, a part of Rome inhabited principally by mechanics and work people, remarkable for their attachment to the Pope, in consequence of a report that Pius IX. was ill, and an idea of his having been poisoned took instant possession of their minds. The whole population of the districts rose *en masse* with the determination of proceeding to the Quirinal in order to ascertain the truth of these sinister rumours; but as the visit of numbers might be too harassing for an invalid they selected four persons from among the crowd, a little better dressed than their comrades, as a

deputation to wait upon their Sovereign. Upon their arrival at the Palace, they demanded an interview with the Pope. Unfortunately it was not a reception day, and difficulties were made as to their admission, which only strengthened their fears as to the illness of Pius IX.

“ We will see the Pope,” said the sturdy *Transteverini*, “ we will see him alive or dead, we will sleep at the gate of his palace rather than go away without seeing him.”

The Pope learning their request, and above all their determination, ordered that they should be admitted.

“ Well! my sons,” he observed upon their entering his chamber, “ what is it you desire?”

“ Nothing, *Santo Padre*, we only wanted to see you, for it was reported in our neighbourhood that you were ill, which would be the greatest misfortune Providence could inflict upon us.”

“ I am not ill, my friends,” replied the Pope,

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“ I never was better, and am now occupied for the good of my people.”

“ Your benediction, *Santo Padre*.”

And after having received it, the four deputies, perfectly satisfied with the result of their mission, added—

“ *Santo Padre*, your Holiness knows very well, if ever you want us we are ready.”

After the quarter of the *Transteverino*, that of *Moreti* is most distinguished for its rude but sincere admiration of the Pope. An inhabitant of this district, a carman, who possessed a cart and an old horse, which was all he had in the world for the support of his aged mother and himself, had the misfortune to lose his horse. His filial affection, and all he heard of the Pope's generosity induced him to present himself at the Quirinal on a day of public reception, where he related the particulars of his loss, and besought the Pope to give him the oldest and worst horse in his stables.

“ If,” said Pius IX., “ I give you a worn out animal, how could you make him work ?”

“ Oh, *Santo Padre*, I’ll assist him. I’m young and strong—”

“ But you must not endanger your health, or abuse your strength, both of which are so precious to your poor old mother ; you must take care of yourself, on her account.”

“ That’s the very reason why I have come to ask for a horse, *Santo Padre*.”

“ And I thank you for having thought of me rather than any other.”

The Pope gave him a good, strong horse, and two twenty-franc pieces for his mother, and after having thanked his benefactor, he mounted his horse, galloped all through the *Moreti* quarter, proclaiming the benevolence of his prince, and crying—“ *Viva Pio Nono !*”

After taking his accustomed walk one day, as Pius IX. was returning by the garden-gate of the Quirinal palace, he perceived the sentinel holding in his right hand a loaf of bread, which

he presented to his Holiness, as though it were a petition. He took it from the soldier, and having examined it, was surprised at its bad quality.

“Is the bread which is served out to you always like this?” demanded the Pope.

“Always, Holiness!” the soldier replied.

“Very well,” said the Pope; “we shall enquire into it.”

The following morning his first object was to send for a loaf of the day. This second loaf confirmed all he had seen in the first. Pius IX. ordered the immediate attendance of the Army Contractor.

“Sir,” he said, “to speculate upon the food of my soldiers is a crime.” Then turning to an officer of his guards, he added—“Let this man be conducted to the prison of St. Angelo, until the tribunals decide his fate.”

Pius IX., it must be admitted, has many opportunities of distinguishing himself by acts of charity and benevolence, which are not in

the power of the supreme heads of long established constitutional governments, particularly where the necessities of the people are provided for by statutory enactments, but this feature cannot in any manner detract from his individual merit and goodness of heart. He appears to watch over all things, his constant solicitude extends not only to the poorest of his subjects, but to the most vicious. For the latter he has created a secret police, having cognizance of all the unfortunate females, and it is astonishing to observe the good which it has effected, and the wisdom by which it is directed.

One of his secret agents, passing through the Ghetto, saw a young and beautiful girl, who suddenly and mysteriously rushed into the shop of a jew. He watched her movements without being perceived. She had gone there to sell a gold cross, to which doubtless she attached considerable value, for her hand trembled in receiving the price offered, and she shed tears.

The agent felt that her distress must have been great to have induced her to part with an ornament sacred to every Roman woman.

Upon quitting the Jew's shop she bent her course to a baker's, where she purchased a loaf, and hiding it in her apron, she ran off to the miserable and deserted street in which she resided. The agent of the secret police followed her without being perceived, and mounting the stairs of the old house, he saw the poor girl enter a chamber, the door of which having been left ajar in her hurry, enabled him to form a pretty accurate estimate of the misery, want and suffering of its occupants. He listened and heard the young girl affectionately press her famishing mother to eat, assuring her that she should never want food again, for that God would not forsake them, and that the good Pope had given such orders as would soon ensure abundant employment to all. She had scarcely finished these words, when the agent threw a piece of money into the room

and disappeared in a moment. Pius IX., to whom the whole circumstance was reported, was so pleased with the girl's filial piety and affection, that he caused the cross to be repurchased, and transmitted to her with five pieces of gold, accompanying the benevolent present with the following letter :

“ My dear child,

“ You were quite right to place your hopes in God, He never abandons filial piety ; you were right also to hope in Pius IX., he will take care that your mother and you shall not die of hunger.”

Up to this period, not a single crime against the person had been committed in Rome, since the publication of the Amnesty, and at the festival of the Nativity, which we have so recently described, not a quarrel, nor the slightest disturbance occurred among a crowd of one hundred thousand persons.

On the 11th, the Pope visited the exhibition of the fine arts, at the Pontifical Academy of

St. Luke. After having been formally received by the professors, he examined, with remarkable tact, all the works in each class, and evinced great satisfaction. He then visited the principal parts of the new edifice granted to these classes, by the late Pope, Gregory XVI. —taking a deep interest in all that met his eye.

We had omitted to state that on the 2nd of September, the pupils of the Roman College held a solemn Academic sitting in the church of St. Ignatius, in order to celebrate, in their own fashion, the act of clemency by which Pius IX. inaugurated his pontificate, and in very beautiful verses, they sang, 1.—the triumph of clemency in the heart of the Sovereign Pontiff; 2.—The triumph of clemency in the hearts of his subjects; and 3.—The triumph of clemency in the hearts of foreigners.

For the first time in the history of Rome, or probably of any other country, the Sovereign Pontiff felt himself constrained to put an end

to the popular rejoicings in honour of himself, for the excellently benevolent reasons and paternal considerations set forth in the following circular, addressed by the minister of state to the governors of the Provinces, upon the 8th of October, 1846.

“ Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,

The manifestations of joy which have taken place even to this very day among the people of the Pontifical States to celebrate the exaltation and the acts of the new Pontiff, Pius IX.. our most clement sovereign, have been calculated to show how great is the delight with which all are affected by such auspicious events. The joy of the people forming that also of the Sovereign and his Ministry, the august Pontiff has not failed to be deeply affected by these manifestations : nevertheless, his soul being always disposed to prefer to his own glory the true happiness of his subjects, has felt affliction mingle with his gladness in considering that these fêtes of the people are the produce of their voluntary contributions, and he cannot suffer that on his account his people should be burthened with expenses. The Holy Father also perceives with grief that masses of the people, giving themselves up to this enthusiasm, neglect their

domestic occupations, from which, in their respective classes, they draw the means of their existence ; and his paternal heart is doubly afflicted by these second losses to the injury of a portion of his beloved subjects. For these reasons His Holiness is desirous that a term should be put to these expensive demonstrations, and that every one should return to the practice of his particular trade or profession, and *peaceably await those dispensations with which the Government is occupied, for the good of the State.*

Your most illustrious Lordship will hasten to make publicly known these intentions of the Holy Father ; and particularly on these occasions where in permission is requested of the municipal and other authorities to celebrate any new festival, or to go in large assemblies of the people from city to city. If in any place collections for such have been already realised, and it may be impossible to return to each of the subscribers his portion of the funds subscribed, those contributions may be very usefully employed for the subsistence of the people during the winter season by means of some useful public work. In this way His Holiness will experience a double consolation in perceiving the obedience of his subjects on the one side, and seeing on the other, turned to the support of the indigent, those means which had been prepared to do honour to his name in another manner, more brilliant perhaps, but less worthy and less agreeable to him than the benedictions of the poor.

Awaiting your reply, I renew, to your illustrious Lordship, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

P. Cardinal Gizzi.

The story of the Basilian nuns of Minsk, which excited so much of the public sympathy and attention some time ago, is too well known to require us to enter into any of its details, but we cannot omit the particulars connected with the visit of Pius IX. to Macrena Mieczyslawska, the unfortunate superioress of those persecuted women, because it has been attempted to set a stamp of imposture and falsehood upon those acts of oppression of which they complained, for the purpose of rescuing the Russian Government from the charge of despotism, but the visit of the Pope to the Mother Abbess only tended to the confirmation of the statements put forth upon the authority of the nuns themselves.

“On the 29th of October, the *fête* day of

St. John Cantz, the Pope repaired in great state to the Convent of the Trinita del Monte, where the Abbess of Minsk had resided since her arrival in the Holy City.

“Pius IX. had already, since his accession to the Pontifical throne, extended his benevolence towards the Abbess Macrena, and had, *proprio motu*, sent to her repeatedly his Apostolic Benediction. He had even caused an intimation to be made to her to the effect that she might ask some special favour of him, promising to grant whatever she might desire.

“These proofs of protection did not prevent some people from propagating injurious reports respecting the Abbess. It was pretended that the Pope had discovered that the Basilian Nun was guilty of imposture; that he had thoughts of casting her into prison, but that out of respect for her great age, he would content himself with shutting her up in a convent of the severest rule.

These reports, it is said, reached Pius IX. and hastened the visit which he had determined to pay to the Abbess.

At nine o'clock in the morning, the Pope reached the Church of the Trinita del Monte. An immense crowd, as usual, followed in his train.

After the adoration of the Holy Sacrament, the Pope ascended to the first floor, where the Abbess awaited him at the entrance of the corridor leading to her cell, accompanied by the Rev. Father Ryllo and the Abbé Jeloicky. The Holy Father, on perceiving her, paused, and pointing to her with his right hand said to the Superioress, Madame de Coriolis,—

“That is indeed the venerable martyr you have had the happiness to harbour in your convent.”

He had scarcely spoken these words when the Abbess Macrena cast herself, with all the energy of her piety, at the feet of the

Holy Father, and as she could not tear herself away, the Pope himself raising her, said,—

“Poor infirm woman, she has suffered cruelly!” — Then, steadily regarding her, he added, ‘What strength of mind in this feeble body?’

The Pope afterwards gave audience to the Abbess in her reception cell, and Pius IX., with that kindness and firmness which constitute the principal features of his character, full of dignity and affability, addressed her in these words:—

“We thank God for having given us, in an age when the wonders of His Grace are more necessary than ever, so signal a proof of it in the sufferings you have so nobly endured, with your Sisters, for the Faith of Jesus Christ. In permitting you all to remain faithful to His law, He has chosen humility and weakness to confound the power and pride of the enemies of His Church. Let us glorify

the Lord for that, and pray that He may deign to accord us the same 'grace in the accomplishment of our mission.

The Abbess then presented the Abbé Jelowicky, who had witnessed her sufferings.

The Pope spoke to him most graciously, and questioned him respecting the wounds of the venerable Abbess.

The poor old Abbess asked through the Abbé Jelowicky who translated her request literally, "favour for her Jesus," meaning her crucifix.

The Pope smiled, and turning to the Abbé, said—"Tell her that it is of Jesus Christ she is to solicit grace for me, and not of me for Jesus Christ."

Before he quitted the Convent, Pius IX. promised to repeat his visit.

CHAPTER III.

The Roman Season—Visit to Albano and Castel—gondolfo—The Council of State, its composition and attributes—What is the Pontificate?...What is the Pope?—Can the Sovereign Pontiff guarantee the future liberty of the people?—Will the Pope constitutionalise the Empire?—The liberty of the Roman Church—The Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons—The Papal power...the Roman constitution and the successor of Pius IX.—Popular concessions—The King of Prussia and the French Dictators—Kings must not reckon without their host—Italy and Prussia, or liberty at Rome and Berlin—England and France—Russia and Austria—Edict upon Agriculture—Gizzi and Colbert—Cardinal della Genga and the priest of Pezaro—Noble reply of the Sovereign Pontiff—The Bouquet—Ceremony of the Possesso—Reflections—The broken flask—Julia and Joseppo.

THE month of October having arrived, the Roman season was about drawing to a close, and the palaces of the Corso were being de-

serted like those of the Faubourg St. Germain in the month of June, or Grosvenor Square in the middle of August ; and all those brilliant equipages, and splendid liveries of the princes and nobles which added so much movement and gaiety to the scene, were fast abandoning the eternal city. But the Pope rebelled against the prevailing custom and notified to his Court that he did not purpose sojourning in the country this year, "personal gratification," he added, "must yield to the interests of my people," however the Pontiff signified his intention to make a few rapid excursions to the neighbouring cities and villages of Albano, Castelgondolfo and Tivoli.

On the 7th. October the Pope arrived at Albano a beautiful little city, built upon the ruins of the ancient city of Pompey, from Albano he went to Castelgondolfo a sweetly picturesque village seated upon the banks of the Lake of Albano, which commands a view of the whole Roman Campagna. Sensibly af-

fectured by the kindness of his reception and the apparently sincere devotion of the population, the Pope visited all the establishments of public instruction and utility in the two communes, entering into the most minute details respecting each, and leaving behind him more substantial proofs of his generosity in the munificence of his charity.

Upon his return to the Quirinal, he was met, outside the City, by a procession of forty thousand pedestrians and four hundred carriages, and escorted to his palace amidst the joyous acclamations and deafening shouts of his subjects, who thus anxiously desired to proclaim their gratitude to their Sovereign for the fresh proofs he had given of his love for his people by his edict upon the salt duties, the taxes upon licences, and the reduction of the Consols; measures tending greatly to alleviate the burdens of the people, to whom these beneficial changes had become known although the Edict itself had not as yet been published.

Another great event which signalized the month of October was the meeting of the *Consulta* for the despatch of business, the recent institution of which we announced in the first volume. In the formation of this council of state, the Pope had a two-fold object, that of imposing a high character upon the laws by the choice of honest, enlightened, and liberal men, whose moderation should seem to partake of his own political principles, and to associate them directly with a share in his government, in order that some of the reforms should appear to emanate from the body of the nation itself. It was impossible to combine elements more powerful, and at the same time more popular, with an institution intended to put an end to the deplorable action of the papal administration under the preceding reign.

The *Consulta* invested itself with very extensive powers, although, strictly speaking, merely a deliberative assembly ; thus, for in-

stance, it took within its province the examination and discussion of the general administration of the provincial administration, the digesting and compiling of laws, the taxes, ordinances, national debt, tariffs and treaties of commerce, and finally the receipts and expenditure of the state, all of which the Pope was desirous to reform, and had already contemplated their modification, but then it required that the responsibility of the acts should be participated in by an assembly composed of men of the greatest talent and renown in the various branches of administration, for fear of rendering their benefits slow and tardy, and of depriving them of that glory with which men of eminence impress their actions.

The Roman government was composed of hordes of idle and avaricious men, ecclesiastics, who being without responsibility themselves, and under no watchful controul, left the administration to their subalterns, living themselves in sumptuous indolence, and not unfre-

quently compromising themselves in disgraceful negotiations, of which we have already given an example in the first volume of this history, page 196. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the public treasury was completely ruined.

But this was not the extent of the evil: they had already polluted the source, they had discouraged agriculture and commerce by neglect and criminal vexations.

The first object of the Council of State, was to correct these abuses, the urgency and importance of which may be well understood by the memorable expression of the Pope, to the assembled cardinals—"Unless these abuses be remedied, no government is possible."

In a political point of view, this Council of State must not be confounded, as some writers have done, with the representative assemblies of constitutional governments. It is true that the *Consulta* has the faculty of deliberating and discussing, and of offering its advice upon all

questions, but here its functions cease. Pius IX. has no power to abrogate his sovereignty ; it is the nature of his government to be absolute—but this absolutism combines itself with the highest ideas of justice and the amelioration of the condition of the people.

Upon this point, a great political question, which we shall endeavour to resolve, naturally arises—what is the Pontificate?—what is the Pope? These are the important questions. The Pontificate is the admitted spiritual sovereignty of the Roman Catholic world; the Pope is both a spiritual and temporal sovereign—in the latter quality as much a king as any monarch of the earth; yet even this definition of his royalty is somewhat complicated, inasmuch as it participates in five or six different notions of power. It is, for example, a mixture of aristocracy, democracy, oligarchy, and republicanism; and again it is elective, and in the hands of foreigners, “for the conclave,” as Mons. de Chateaubriand said, at the period of

the election of Pius VIII., "by a universal character, which has no example in history, is not the council of a particular state, but that of a nation composed of nations of different characters, and wide scattered over the surface of the globe."

Thus, the Pope is the chief of an oligarchy, inasmuch as that he may be deposed by his cardinals, and he is, at the same time, the chief of an aristocracy, for he has his Roman barons as vassals, these same vassals being paramount lords of their people; finally, the elective principle which establishes the sovereignty of the Pope, constitutes the democratic essence, as M. de Lamartine observes. Again, it is asked, whether a similar power, so badly defined, is capable, by itself, to ensure the happiness of Italy?—can, in fact, the Pope secure it? To these questions we reply in the negative: unless a constitution be accorded at a future period by the Pope, the liberty born with him must die with him, or suffer the deepest injury by

his death—for his successor is not bound to guarantee institutions which were not founded by him, and which he is free to abrogate or change again, even to their fundamental principles.

A new pontifical election brings with it a new king, who comes not to reign and govern by virtue of survivorship, according to hereditary right, but to manage a life interest, a power which as it is born with him, will die with him also.

Another question which suggests itself to our consideration is whether Pius IX. can guarantee the future liberty of Italy? Pius IX. is the origin of the Italian question, he is the soul of this almost miraculous movement of the Italian peninsula, it is he, who, without drawing the sword, has dared to declare open warfare against a whole system of corruption and abuse which had ruined the country of the Cæsars. It was he who dared to speak of re-constitutionalising the nation, by rescuing it

from the degrading state of the middle ages. It will be Pius IX., who at a later period will have the singular glory of inducing the Italians to forget that they are a mosaic of principalities, and petty states, and that their regeneration depends alone upon the extinction of rivalry and national prejudices.

As to constitutionalising the Empire, the problem appears to us to be impossible to resolve for him, but not so for the people. The Sovereign Pontiff has no right to bind his successor to the extent of imposing upon him constitutional liberty, as in England and France where hereditary rights prevail, still Pius IX. has imprinted a character, almost definitive, upon his quasi constitutions of *motu proprio*, and it is greatly his interest to fortify these constitutions rather than decrease their vigour or effect. Certainly the council of state cannot resolve anything, and it is a great imperfection, for the reforms want that popular character which renders them invariable and permanent up to a

certain point, but can it be said that Pius IX. has not already, as well as for the future, committed the Sacred College to the course of progress? can it be said that he has not given to these institutions a sufficient guarantee against the variations not only of the will, which has liberally and gloriously bestowed them, but against a future, ever uncertain under any imaginable form of Government? as to Pius IX. not constitutionalising the Empire—does it mean to infer that the traditions of the Roman Church repulse all ideas of progress, and that its interests and its doctrines are antagonistical to innovation? can it be said finally that the successors of the Pope would allow the chair of St. Peter to be devoured by the worms? It would indeed be criminal thus to despair of liberty—the strife for which is so long and difficult—and above all for Roman liberty.

The Cardinal de Bonald, primate, Archbishop of Lyons, the most ardent admirer of Pius IX. said, with truth, in one of his celebrated

mandates, "The successor of St. Peter can do more for true and christian liberty, than all the powers who put their faith in their soldiers, the thunders of their artillery, and in the tact of their policy." The members of the Council of State are named upon the elective principle, which is in itself a strong guarantee, then the Pope goes further than is required by the Constitutions of England or France, he insists that the members of the *Consulta* be requited by their respective provinces.

With reference to the change of sentiments on the part of the Sovereign or his successor, the question is premature, for more than one example tends to prove that Pius IX., or rather his successor, could not think of abrogating, at his will and pleasure, those institutions which ensure the glory, tranquillity, and happiness of the people.

Let us turn our eyes to that which is passing at Berlin, where King William Frederick, although not a little tardily, and with apparent

reluctance, as though forced by the invincibleness of the age, has framed a constitutional act, circumscribed, however, by very narrow limits. Yet, notwithstanding all the imperfections of this constitution, can it be believed that William Frederick, much less his successor, could suppress the states? or refuse to convoke them for years, force them to vote subsidies or to examine the budgets of finance, without leaving them, finally, the right to revise or reject? Such an idea would be a perfect absurdity, for to what good purpose could it tend to invest an assembly with a right, and refuse it the power to exercise it? The states would no longer be states, but merely a simple committee, whose duties would be confined to the report upon any question submitted to its examination; it would not be the creation of a State, but that of an administration divested of political consideration.

We press this point in order to explain, the more fully, the character of popular conces-

sions, and the difficulty of retrograding when a government has once taken a step in favour of liberty and the satisfaction of the popular will. Thus in the affairs of Prussia, the Sovereign, at one time on the point of retrograding, established permanent committees to annihilate the Diet, or to obtain concessions which it was its duty to refuse. The King wished simply to revive the administrative commissions, which the French Dictators were forced to establish in 1799, in order to legalise that which the Dictatorial Government judged fit and necessary to order them to perform. Its members were only convenient instruments, upon whose promptitude they could depend. But at that time there was scarcely any fear that they would abuse their authority, because their operations were so instantaneous that men do not generally lose their time in doing mischief.

The object which the King of Prussia had in view, was to force the Dietaries to collect

the finances, and fill his treasury. His own affairs thus brought to a conclusion, the Prince, according to his will and pleasure, adjourned the convocation of the States General, and assumed the reins of government, without any interference, and without fear of remonstrance from any quarter. But as we have seen, and shall see again, the King reckoned without his host, and now he must march onwards with the population of the eight provinces, or create a state of permanent strife and conflict, and draw down fearful evils and disasters upon the country of the Great Frederick. But Italy, as well as Prussia, must conquer, if not under new constitutions, at least by new political tendencies; and the Italian nation, with its impassioned feelings, and the Prussian nation, with the gravity of its reflections—the one with its open-heartedness and generosity, the other with its severe habits and manners, have discovered and understand that they are entitled to more than they have received. It is therefore im-

possible to ravish their constitutions from them; and a people who would permit such an invasion of their rights would justly merit the privation. But it is more probable that from concession to concession the two chiefs of Rome and Berlin will end by advancing, instead of receding, from the cause of progress. Neither the one nor the other belongs to himself—both belong to their people. It is difficult for sovereigns to avoid reckoning with revolutions; when once they have admitted, consecrated, and sanctioned their necessity, they must resign themselves to march onwards with them. Princes find themselves weighed between two necessities, either to yield at once to constitutional principles, or suffer themselves to be beaten in detail by the spirit of communion, and all this under the invincible fire of the most redoubtable artillery—the press. The press will save itself with all Germany, of which it is the light. England will save Italy as she saved Greece in

concert with France Austria and Russia, and it will be no less honorable to France to aid her in saving the Italian Peninsula, the land of people cherished by all Europe. The attitude of the British Cabinet, which holds ever with public opinion in the policy it adopts; and the generous and eloquent voice of France, if not of the Cabinet of the Tuileries, which unfortunately has not always the same ambition, will speedily give the complete solution of this magnificent problem of agreement and sympathy between the Italian population and the majority of their princes. We may ask what will be the part taken by Russia and Austria? Russia is everywhere liberal, except upon its own territory,—yet she will perish by becoming so in its turn, but it will be the last to change its policy.—Austria is seriously compromised in this question—she has played a great game in Italy, and believes she has everything to lose by concessions. Unwilling to partake with another, she still considers herself as absolute a sovereignty, as when, nearly

half a century ago, she occupied Piedmont, Tuscany, and the Roman States — without recalling the King of Sardinia, to Turin, the Grand Duke to Florence, nor the Pontifical Sovereign to Rome; but now matters are widely different, for the Princes of Italy have cast aside the old Austrian uniform for the capote of the civic guard; and although Prussia may abandon her, England has said to Austria, “so far shalt thou go and no further,” and France must follow in her wake, because her people wills it so.

Prussia, whose military spirit has been greatly weakened, latterly, by the effect of the new political tendencies of the country, is an eyesore to Austria. Its constitution, in her opinion, is a capital crime under the present circumstances of Germany, notwithstanding which, wanting the power of resistance, she will rally herself, in order to prevent Berlin from becoming exclusively the head of the German confederation. Austrian Italy will also rally herself, seeing that Pius IX, has made Rome the

heart of the peninsula. Why does Austria persist to regard, with an evil eye, a people and a prince who have won all the sympathies of the people of Italy, and continually to her own detriment?

When persuaded that the people are ripe for liberty, and that free institutions are the sole guarantee against sanguinary conflicts and periodical reactions, why should Austria have any repugnance to repair the lost time, and to call her Italian provinces to a participation in those progressive institutions, which honor the age in which we live, the citizen, and the monarch? These sovereign determinations are not doubtful for the future, for a retrograde movement is impossible, it would be defying Providence.

To return to the acts of Pius IX., so full of wisdom and forethought in behalf of various interests of all classes of his subjects; we read with pleasure the following circular forwarded

by the minister—Secretary of State—to all the authorities of the Pontifical states.

“ Most Illustrious Lord,

“ It is a very laudable custom which prevails in almost all the states of the church to establish, in years of unfavourable harvests, works of public utility for the advantage of the indigent classes, in order to provide them some subsistence, above all in the first months of winter, when agricultural employment offers but little resource to the labourers.

Although the last season gives no cause for serious fear, nevertheless the uncertainty of the future may cause just grounds of apprehension upon a subject of such vast importance. His Holiness has, therefore, ordained that the communes of the Pontifical states shall, during the next months of December and January, execute the works which he shall deem necessary, or accelerate the execution of those which were proposed to be undertaken at a future period. In the midst of his onerous cares for the government of the Church and state, the Holy Father, does not forget the wants of the poorer classes of his subjects for whom he entertains a special and paternal affection, and I am persuaded that your Illustrious Lordship, truly penetrated

with the wise views of his Holiness, will second them with all your efforts by enjoining the Magistrates of the Communes to cooperate therein to the fullest extent, principally by placing out at interest the funds at their disposition in order to alleviate, as much as possible, the charges imposed upon the respective populations.

“P. CARDINAL GIZZI.”

It is by such intelligent measures, bearing the impress of wisdom and justice, that Pius IX., admirably seconded by his Gizzi, as Louis XIV. was by his Colbert, spreads the elements of glory and prosperity over his reign and prepares the happiness of his people.

The Cardinal Gizzi, like Colbert, had to repair the evils caused by the feeble and stormy reign of the predecessor of his master. Both found the people oppressed with taxation, and their sovereigns deprived of the greater portion of their revenues. Both of these ministers had the good fortune to meet with princes who were endowed with genius for government, capable of doing good, suffi-

ciently courageous to undertake it, firm enough to sustain it, desiring to accomplish great objects. Both worked with order and for the increase of the public interests, both abolished the disgraceful traffic in places, which enriched, and at the same time, degraded the Court; both sought to facilitate communications by improving the public roads. The one and the other were acquainted with the resources of credit, that most interesting part of the public wealth, which causes the circulation of that which is in possession, in order to supply the wants of those who have it not. But Gizzi has perhaps surpassed Colbert in the encouragement he has given to agriculture.

We omitted to mention that the Pope, having visited a manufactory situated in the ancient villa of Mecænas, the proprietors of which (Frenchman who have established themselves in the Roman States,) in order to perpetuate the remembrance of the honor conferred upon them, raised a triumphal arch in bronze, over the ancient *atrium* of the villa.

The day after the Pope's excursion, a closed carriage, escorted by a party of dragoons, passed, at a very rapid pace, through Rome, towards the castle of St. Angelo. It contained a mysterious personage, a prisoner of state, a circumstance which excited the Roman curiosity to the highest pitch; a thousand conjectures were hazarded as to the identity of the person; but it was generally believed to be the cardinal della Genga Sermattei, created cardinal, 1st of February, 1836—an unhappy fanatic, who had caused, or at least permitted, a proclamation to be placarded on the walls of Pesaro, so absurd in its nature as to create a feeling in which his criminality was lost sight of in the general ridicule and contempt with which he was regarded. However, the prisoner of state was no other than the fanatical Curé of the town of Faenza, who, as an unworthy minister of peace, had preached a crusade against the successor of Gregory XVI, and had called upon King Ferdinand of Naples, to take up arms against

Pius IX. As soon as he was safely lodged in the castle of St. Angelo, the governor of this fortress repaired to the Quirinal for orders from his sovereign respecting the treatment of his prisoner.

“Treat him well,” said the Pope; “cure him, if possible, and send him back to his parish.” A noble and generous reply, worthy the author of the Amnesty—worthy of the man who once said, “God commenced all things by miracles; He will end with prodigies.”

By the side of this great lesson of generosity, Pius IX. gave another, from which the public may derive advantage.

A celebrated *danseuse* arrived at Rome, and gave some representations at the Argentine Theatre. The Romans, charmed with the grace and beauty of their favourite *artiste*, assailed her with showers of bouquets each night of her appearance, converting the stage into a garden of flowers. But there is often a delirium of enthusiasm, which knows no bounds,

and they were determined to change the flowers of nature into the more costly imitations of art, and place a crown of gold, ornamented with silver leaves, upon the head of the heroine of the Argentine. As the period arrived for putting this project into execution, some of the subscribers doubted whether this demonstration—the importance of which was, perhaps, exaggerated in their minds, as it was in its substance, for it cost 12,000*f.*—would be pleasing to the Pope.

“Let us do nothing without consulting him,” said one of them.

“Then we will go to the Quirinal,” said another; and they immediately set off for the palace, and requested an interview with the Pontiff.

They were received with the usual kindness of Pius IX., and the chief of the deputation thus addressed him:—

“Most Holy Father, we desire to present a

crown of gold to Fanny Ellsler—we only wait your consent.”

The Pope replied,

“You cannot require any consent from me. I see nothing in the matter which can possibly compromise the dignity of the church, or the safety of my states. Present your crown, by all means, if such be your desire; but,” added the Pope, with a good-natured smile, “permit me to observe that I do not think you have made a happy choice in the object you are about to offer; in your place, I should have preferred a garland, or a bouquet—for crowns are made for the head, not for the heels.”

Fanny Ellsler, however, had the crown which the jeweller had prepared; but at the same time, the subscribers delicately remitted 3,000*l.* to the Pope’s almoner, for charitable purposes.

The reply of Pius IX. was a most cutting protest against the ridiculous infatuations of the rich, who turn the tide of fortune in favour

of dancers and singers, who gain, in one night, by their feet or their roulades, more than the poet, the historian, or the man of science can scrape together in a whole year.

To give flowers and applause to great actors, who pourtray the noble actions of mankind, and bring the heroes back again to life; to artistes who please, astonish, and delight the senses for a while ; to pay them well at all times; to shower gold upon them, in the nature of salaries, if their services cannot otherwise be obtained, is just and fair ; but they do not merit the honours due alone to glory and genius. It is an error, and perhaps, indeed, a calamity at this period, when so many men of learning and talent are wasting their lives in the most laborious exertions in the cause of science and literature, and yet scarcely earn a miserable existence, that singers and dancers, whose very names perish with their powers, should gain a fortune in a few months, leaving nothing to posterity but the palaces they have purchased, with the superfluous riches of their noble patrons.

About this time the Romans, but more particularly the foreigners sojourning in Rome (wonder loving sight seekers) were all on the tiptoe of anxiety for the approaching ceremony of the *Possesso*, the most solemn and magnificent procession connected with the rites of the Roman Catholic faith, and the assumption, by its chief, of the supreme spiritual power over the Church. Formerly it was the custom for the new Pontiff to go in procession, from his palace, to take possession of St. John de Lateran, the oldest Christian temple, mounted on a white mule. In 1334 Clement VI., crowned at Avignon, in France, was consecrated with the greatest solemnity, the Duke of Normandy eldest son of the King of France surrounded by a host of young and brilliant nobles, holding the stirrup of the Sovereign Pontiff. Upon such grand solemnities the treasurer of the Pope used to throw pieces of silver to the people but so many quarrels, attended with personal violence, occurred that the custom

was discontinued. The Jews also played a part in this ceremony, by the presentation to the Pope, of the Old Testament, but it was suppressed in consequence of the ill-treatment to which they were subjected on the part of the people. In all other respects the ceremonial was observed by Pius IX. with its usual splendour and magnificence ; but however important the ceremonial as a necessary act in the completion of those forms which constitute the Pope, the spiritual chief of the Roman Catholic faith, as well as the temporal monarch of the Ecclesiastical States, the procession, the enthusiasm of all classes of his subjects, the triumphal arches and the eulogistic addresses, were all so similar in character to those which we have already detailed in our account of the coronation, that we do not deem it necessary, considering the important events which must be narrated in this volume, to enter into any further description of the *processo* than to observe, that at the completion of the ceremonies

the whole city was brilliantly illuminated, amidst which appeared the singular and novel spectacle of the illumination of the Flavian Amphitheatre, the effect of which was truly magical and beautiful.

After the ceremony the Pope addressed his Encyclical Epistle to all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops, in which he alludes to the event of his having taken possession of the supreme pontificate in his Church or the Lateran, and calls upon them to watch over the flocks committed to their care. He warns them of the dangers to which the faith is exposed by the false philosophy of the age, declaring, that there is no true philosophy but that which is to be discovered in the research of natural truths, and the belief of those revelations which God has given for the happiness and salvation of man. He deprecates the principles of communism, and eloquently and clearly argues upon the virtues of the Christian faith as exemplified in all christian countries, notwith-

standing the different manners and habits of the people, by the mildness of the laws and the practice of humanity, proving incontestably that the constitution of Christianity is the work of God alone, the author of the faith. He then calls upon all Ecclesiastics by their piety, their courage, and their prudence, to unite their efforts to his, for the good of the whole Christian community, each according to the part he occupies and the dignity with which he is invested, stifling all animosities, dissensions, and hatreds, and contributing by their example to improve the lives of the Clergy under their control, as well as to form the characters of those who are devoted to the Ecclesiastical life and the future ministry of the Gospel."

This document, of which we have given but a very slight abstract, is totally devoid of political bias; and notwithstanding the eulogiums with which it abounds, we can easily

detect in each, a criticism upon the present posture of affairs. The portrait is general—no one is specially designed, but the whole is summed up by severe admonitions. The Roman court imagined with justice, that the blame to be general, should not be the less explicit. If the indulgence of the Pope induced him to be silent with respect to the religious orders, whose conduct had rendered them particularly obnoxious to the exhortations of the encyclical letter with respect to dogma, discipline, and Christian morality, and not to place them as it were under the ban of Christianity, it is not difficult to divine the cause. Certainly if the Pope had formed the design of re-establishing the discipline of the church, it must have arisen from the idea he entertained of the necessity for its restoration, and where his Christian charity has only given counsel, the public conscience will see at the same time a reprimand. The severe expressions of his Holiness upon the subject of the Communi-

ists must not be considered as any invasion of the political domain, for communism having taken its rise principally in the North of Europe, where it has assumed the character of biblical exaggeration; the Pope simply placed them in the list of heretics. Nevertheless the encyclical epistle alarmed; for an instant, certain patriots who imagined that it held out but little hope of beneficial change to the nation.

At this period also great fears were entertained that Austria had gained over the Grand Duke of Tuscany to her cause, and that the Sovereign Pontiff might be seriously compromised in the matter. Circumstances seemed to favour this surmise. Austria had sent agents to many parts of the ecclesiastical states, for the purpose of exasperating the people; and the popular sentiment, so entirely in unison with the acts of the Pope, throughout the whole Italian peninsula, caused a re-action which often approached to violence.

At Bologna, some of their agents, during

the night covered with mud all the placards set up by the Government to proclaim the new institutions to the people—an insult which naturally excited the passions of the inhabitants, who were not slow in giving vent to their feelings. They had the proclamations fresh printed, carried them in procession through the streets amidst cries of “long live Pius IX. ! Death to the tyrants ! Long live the Italian Confederation ! *Viva Pio nono, Re d'Italia !*” and at Padua, some young men, highly excited by these events, were on the point of coming into open collision with the Austrian troops.

An event of trifling importance in itself, but highly significant, occurred at Naples upon the consecration of the Church *della Madonna della Grazia*, in the street of Toledo. As the people were coming out of Church several thousand copies of a pamphlet, entitled “Protestation of the people of the Kingdom of the two Sicilies” were distributed to them.

At Palermo they had already thrown one of these pamphlets into the King's carriage, and upon his retiring to rest he found another in his bed-chamber, entitled—"The project of that which might be and ought to be." These seditious and unexampled proceedings threw the Court into the greatest consternation, and kept the police and the army constantly on the alert.

All these circumstances combined induced many to believe that they were on the eve of an explosion, and that the Italian territory would be invaded by an Austrian army, but happily these apprehensions were not realised. The Grand Duke of Tuscany came to do homage to the Pope, and to assure him personally of his sympathy and his intention to unite his efforts to those of the Sovereign Pontiff in order to secure the triumph of reform.

On the other hand, the powerful Sovereign, Charles Albert of Sardinia wrote to Pius IX. to felicitate him upon the Amnesty, and to as-

sure him that his troops were at his service in case of need, not only to secure the carrying out of new institutions, but to repel any attempt at the invasion of Italy. Independently of these assurances on the part of his near neighbours, Pius IX. found that he was supported by the press of all countries, a power not only formidable, but truly encouraging,

In England the "*Times*," the defender of the people's rights equally against bad laws and bad princes, raised its mighty voice for Pius IX. and Roman liberty. By the side of this leviathan of the press were ranged the "*Chronicle*," the "*Herald*," and all liberal and enlightened journals. The continental press joined in harmonious chorus their brethren of England, and at Constantinople and the new world the prospect of the regeneration of Italy produced unbounded satisfaction.

That which must have struck all persons interested in the fate of Italy with admiration, was the calm and dignified manner, and the

wise and forbearing spirit in which the reform movements were developing themselves in the midst of those obstacles which were imposed and supported by ignorance, and the adverse interests and passions of foreign intrigue. Ardent imaginations might have wished Pius IX. to have acted with irresistible energy as if it were possible to eradicate, in a minute, a whole mass of abuses sanctioned, as it were, by their antiquity; abuses, around which were grouped interests of every nature.

We earnestly invoke the wisdom of Pius IX., who so nobly advances in his white robe, leaning upon the moral force of opinion and abandoned to his own exertions. We must applaud this wisdom from the Vatican—so often dishonoured—to raise the hopes of a whole nation fallen into slavery, to give a focus and a centre to his efforts, which must, one of these days, force Austria, pressed between Prussia, Italy and the Slavonic race, to quit his narrow path of policy, and march onwards in the high road of civilization.

Upon the day of the Possesso, Pius IX., like all great Princes, to whom the grand ceremonies of their station, offer no impediment to the' carrying out the details of the administration, dated the following decree upon the railways from the palace of the Quirinal :

“NOTIFICATION.

“Pascal, of the title of Santa Prudentiana, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Secretary of State to His Holiness Pope Pius IX., &c.

“Judicial reforms and improvements in public economy demand long and mature reflection. Our Holy Father the Pope, wishing nevertheless that some of the fruits of his solicitude should appear on this day, in which, amid the pomp of an august and solemn ceremony, joy for his exaltation to the Supreme Pontificate is renewed in the hearts of his well beloved subjects, the Commission charged to prepare fundamental rules for the concession of iron railways has, with the most laudable activity, hastened its decision, and on the report of this committee, His Holiness has ordained the publication of the following resolutions.

“Art. I. The lines considered by the Pontifical Government to be of the greatest importance, and

those whereof the execution is authorized, are four in number, namely—

“ 1. The line from Rome through the Valle del Sacco to the confines of Naples, near Ceprano.

“ 2. A line from Rome to the Porto d'Anzio.

“ 3. A line from Rome to Civita Vecchia.

“ 4. A line from Rome, running through the most populous parts of Umbria—namely, Foligno and the Valle del Fiume Potenza to Ancona, and thence to Bologna ; following the traces of the ancient Via Flaminia Emilia.

“ Art. II. The construction of these new roads will be conceded to private companies, represented by Papal subjects, and the competing parties will be required to furnish—

“ 1. A plan of the line or lines which they propose to undertake.

“ 2. Drawings and specifications.

“ 3. A statement of the time within which they will bind themselves to complete the works, and also of the shortest lease with which they will be satisfied.

“ 4. A statement of the security which it may be in their power to offer for the due completion of their respective undertakings.

“ 5. A statement of the principles upon which each railway is to be conducted, considered principally as far as they will affect the Roman people, landholders, and capitalists.

“ Art. III. For the presentation of projects in compliance with the above conditions, a period of three months is to be allowed from the date of the present notice (Nov. 7, 1846), which period can be extended at the request of the companies, on sufficient reason being given.

“ Art. IV. The construction of the lines described in Article I. having been assured, the Government reserves to itself to take into consideration the construction of a line from Foligno towards Perugia and Città di Castello by the Valle del Tevere, and also other lines of communication with the neighbouring States, whenever the necessity or utility of such works for the Roman people shall be fully recognised.

“ Art. V. A gold medal of the value of 1,000 scudi (£215) will be given, under the judgment of the Council of Art (the members of which are on that account excluded from the competition) to the person who shall demonstrate the easiest and cheapest road between Umbria and La Marche.”

One day as the Pope was going to the Vatican alone, without guards or escort, he met a funeral procession, unaccompanied by friends, relatives, or mourners, a solitary priest, following the funeral cross, chaunting the service for the dead. Pius IX. followed the body to the

cemetery, took part in the service, and left the ground only when the last rites of the church were performed over the deceased. On another occasion on returning incognito from the Church of Santa Maria dei Angeli, not far from the Diocletian Baths, he perceived a little girl, whose tears and affliction interested him, and he kindly enquired the cause of her grief.

“Oh! Padre,” said the child, “I have met with a terrible misfortune—My mother gave me five baiocchi (two-pence halfpenny) to buy some wine, I have fallen down, broken the flask, and spilt all the wine.”

“It is an accident my child,” replied the Pope, “and not a misfortune.”

“Oh! Padre,” but my mother will beat me.”

“Then that alters the case—here, my good child, take this, purchase another flask, fill it with *Orvietto*, and instead of beating you, your mother will kiss you.”

Upon saying which, he put a crown piece into her hand.

The astonishment of the child, who had perhaps never seen so large a piece of silver before, was great, but after thanking him, she innocently demanded the name of her benefactor, that she might satisfy her mother as to the mode in which she had acquired the money.

"Tell her," said the Pope, "it was a priest, who lives at the Quirinal.

On another occasion Pius IX. gave a further proof of the kindness of his heart, his consideration for the weakness of human passions, his desire to promote the truly christian spirit of forgiveness, and the restoration of domestic felicity.

We have before observed that it was the invariable custom of the Pope to open all letters addressed to him, and not leave that duty to the private secretary, as in previous reigns. The following was addressed to him in a female hand :—

"Most Holy Father,—After the example of God, whose minister you are, your heart overflows with the treasure of mercy, and it is to that heart that I now address myself. Five months have elapsed since I, almost a child, ignorant of the world, had the misfortune to believe in protestations to which I should have turned a deaf ear. I quitted Naples, the country of my birth, the home of my parents, never again to behold it, or those so dear to me. My mother, instead of blessing me as usual, must have cursed her child, when she found she had deserted the maternal roof. I come now to throw myself at your feet, to seek pardon of God and of you, and ask permission to hide myself for ever in a convent in Rome, there to expiate in tears and repentance the errors of my life.

"Signed

JULIA."

The address of the unhappy girl was found at the bottom of the letter, but it was difficult at first to decypher it, from the tears which had fallen from the repentant sinner. Pius IX. sent for the young woman, and upon her arrival, in a state of the deepest agitation, he kindly addressed her—

"Fear nothing, my daughter, it is not a judge who has sent for you to condemn you, but a father who will pardon you if you sincerely repent."

The Neapolitan lifted up her veil, and notwithstanding her tearful eyes and dejected mien, she displayed a beauty which was ravishing. The Pope made her recount her history, which was that of all young girls, who listening only to the miscalled voice of love, suffered her passions to get the better of her judgment, and her duty towards God and her own honor. The fault she had committed, enormous as it was, was not irreparable, for her seducer was not a guilty or a hardened one, he belonged to a noble family, and although his love was ardent and sincere, the prejudices of the society of which he was a member, precluded his doing that justice to his victim for which his heart panted, but his family opposed. The Pope examined both parties, and satisfied by the enquiries he had made, he lost no time in

opening a negotiation with the parents of the young man, who, honoured by the interference of the Sovereign Pontiff, were the less reluctant to extend forgiveness to their son, and willingly consented to his union with Julia; while the mother of the poor girl cheerfully forgave her repentant daughter. To add to all his previous kindness, the Pope deigned also to bestow upon them the nuptial benediction in the chapel of the Virgin in the Church of Santa Maria dei Angeli, in the presence of the parents and intimate friends of both parties.

CHAPTER IV.

Political character of the Chief of the Roman States...its difficulties and causes—Conduct of Cardinals and parties—Moral force its only weapon—National Guard of Bologna—Cardinal Vannicelli—Fatal affray—Secret agents—Remonstrance of the Princes—Noble reply of the Sovereign Pontiff—The Legate of Ancona—Recall of M. Rossi—Banquet in honor of the Exiles—Speech of the Transteverino—Disturbances at Faenza—Riot in the theatre at Bologna...Padre Ferrara and the attack upon the Jesuits...Inflexibility of Pius IX.

THE political character of the chief of the Roman states, so puzzling to define, tends greatly to increase the difficulties of the task imposed upon him, as his power emanates from a host of suffrages from all parts of Europe, in the persons of the cardinals, who secretly

desire that the candidate they elect should govern according to their views, both personal and political, the Sovereign Pontiff finds himself placed in a position of extreme delicacy and embarrassment, and hence the origin of that miserable uniformity which has so long stigmatised the stationary policy of the ecclesiastical government.

Certain cardinals, for example, representing the views of the French Government, preach the politics of the cabinet of the Tuileries ; others, partisans, of Austria, are the Apostles of Metternich's system, and omit no opportunity of sowing dissension. Pius IX. thus finds himself between two fires, and the love of his entire people is not more than necessary to sustain his courage in this conflict of parties.

Bonaparte or Cromwell would have commanded obedience by force of arms, but Pius IX. representing moral force alone, is guided by conviction, and has no other arms than those of justice and the popular desire—so in unison

with his own feelings—to oppose to the convulsive oscillations of their policy, and we have seen, hitherto, with what perfect success he has employed these means.

Bologna had obtained permission from Pius IX. to organize a national guard, to maintain the peace of the city ; but a member of the sacred college, a pontifical elector, determined to set himself in opposition to the will of his sovereign. The Cardinal Vanicelli not only refused to recognise this innovation, but ordered the gendarmes to take the civic patrols into custody wherever they should be found on duty in the streets. The reception which attended this first trial of a measure so gigantic—which, in spite of all opposition, soon received such general development—would have discouraged any other than Pius IX.

In a small town in the neighbourhood of Bologna, the people, wishing to commemorate the *possesso*, collected in large numbers in the street, crying, “ *Viva Pio Nono.*” The gen-

darmes, as at Bologna, immediately flew to arms, and ranging themselves in order of battle, forbade the people, from uttering cries in favour of the Pope, upon the plea that his name was the watch-word of treason and sedition, and at the same time, they added the grossest insults to their menaces. The people excited, by their conduct and enthusiasm, in favour of their Prince, cried out more lustily than ever, "Long live Pius IX.," when, to the eternal disgrace of the authorities, without any previous warning, the commandant ordered the troops to fire, and an officer of the customs and the son of the mayor were killed upon the spot.

In other communes, secret agents endeavoured to excite the population to revolt and the disturbance of the public tranquillity, by the dissemination of seditious and incendiary papers and emblems against the government, and the distribution of money, in order to produce a rising of the people.

Certain princes seconded this movement, and

forwarded strong letters of remonstrance and even menace, accusing the Pope of a desire to sow the seeds of revolution in the whole Italian Peninsula, and, to a certain extent, they were right in this idea.

The Sovereign Pontiff replied with calm and dignified firmness, that "God alone was his paramount lord, and to God alone would he render an account of his thoughts and actions."

But his best answer was the introduction of the social sciences in his states—those of legislation, of commerce, and of political economy, which is the hand-maiden of reason, and is born, as it were, under our eyes.

It was only at the last extremity that the Pope assumed the temporal sovereign, and not until he had been provoked to it by the open hostility of some of the cardinals; but then his determination became inflexible. It was at this precise moment that he dismissed the Legate of Ancona, and recalled Mgr. Rossi to Rome.

Two days after the *Possesso* a magnificent banquet, to commemorate the return of the political exiles, took place under the superintendence of the Roman Youth, in the splendid interior of the Alberti theatre. A thousand guests, belonging principally to the middle-classes, and all Romans, with one exception, assembled on this auspicious occasion at the festive board. The *salle du théâtre* was brilliantly illuminated, and the boxes were filled by elegantly dressed and beautiful women, while the whole scene was enlivened by patriotic airs, played at intervals, by a brilliant orchestra, interrupted occasionally by cries of “*Viva Pio Nono.*”

After dinner, when the guests had done honour to their sovereign by drinking his health in the most enthusiastic manner, a great many orators came forward, to sing and speak the merits of the Pope, and after the reading of some complimentary verses by the poet Sojani, a *Transteverino*—a sort of tribune of the people—rose and pronounced the following harangue :—

“We are not orators; God has refused us the gift of words, but in exchange he has given us power to love and feel: thus endowed, while to you belongs the head for reflection, to us is reserved the will to act—to you the thought which commands, to us the movement which executes. We are poor men, the children of the people; we have no gold in our houses, but we have blood in our veins; and that blood belongs wholly to Pius IX. our Sovereign Lord and master and our father. Let him but speak and we are ready to shed the last drop in his defence. Thus, princes and learned men—ye who are our brothers in Jesus Christ—you may well believe, in spite of our ignorance and poverty, how worthy we are to be the children of our sovereign. We are men of feeling, and men of honour, we tell you all, who love his Holiness as much as we do, command, and we will obey.”

This discourse was succeeded by some stanzas written by a poet who had been snatched from

a dungeon by the Amnesty. He had taken for the subject of his verse, the moment of his interview with the Pope; but he was strongly agitated, and his utterance was choked by the intensity of his feelings.

At the conclusion of this popular and patriotic dinner, the guests all rose, as by common consent, and sang in chorus Verdi's beautiful hymn to Pius IX., after which they embraced each other and the bust of the Pontiff, which was decorated with a wreath of flowers over the triple crown, and then retired peaceably to their homes.

In the month of November serious disturbances broke out at Faenza, Bologna, and Citta di Castello. At Faenza, the retrogressive party and the reformers assumed the attitude of champions eager to engage in the combat of opinion; and the pontifical authority, notwithstanding the prudential measures it adopted, could not prevent the conflict, which was both fierce and rancorous. At Bologna

the troubles were not less threatening: on the 23rd. November, a new piece was represented on the stage, entitled—"Christian VIII, King of Denmark." A crowded audience vehemently applauded some passages in the play which deprecated foreign intervention. On the following day the authorities interdicted, the further representation of the play, but upon the opening of the theatre, the audience furious with disappointment, threw down all the lustres, pulled up all the seats and benches of the boxes and pit, and broke them into a thousand pieces. When everything was destroyed the authors of the riot retreated before the armed force. An event, although of a totally different nature, indicative of the manifestation of the peoples' will, took place in the province of Prouse. Some chiefs among the reformers were incensed at permission given by the Pope for the establishment of a college of Jesuits, at Citta di Castello, and were determined that the liberty they had so long claimed for themselves should not

be extended to the members of that society. Having harangued the people and excited their feelings to the highest state of exasperation they led them to the establishment of the Jesuits, where, but for the courage and *sang-froid* of one of their members, the Padre Ferrara, serious consequences might have resulted. Upon the arrival of the crowd, he went out boldly to meet them, and told them they were deceived as to the character of his brethren, "if," he added, "we were the monsters you describe, surely Pius IX, would not have sent us to assist and support you against the struggles of this life."

"You come amongst us, to conspire against our rights," replied one of the crowd in a stentorian voice.

"Yes," said the Padre Ferrara; "to conspire against the extravagance which would lead you into the paths of evil; if that be a conspiracy we are decided conspirators."

This address had great effect upon the minds

of many of those who came with violent intention, and some went so far as to cry : " Long live Pius IX, and the Jesuits," but one of the leading men not satisfied with the explanations, or the arguments of the Jesuit, left the ranks of the people, and advancing to the priest struck him in the face.

" What," said the Padre Ferarra, continuing to address the crowd ; " does that blow prove ? nothing more than the cowardice of the man who would strike a priest, whose only duty is to forgive. In the name of God, I forgive him and bless him."

The populace, acting as they ever do upon the impulse of the moment, forgot the object of their visit to the Jesuits, in their admiration of one of their order, and crying lustily "*viva il padre Ferrara*," they quitted a spot which under other circumstances might have become a scene of bloodshed and violence, evincing how easily the multitude may be turned from their intentions in an instant, and

snatched as from the Tarpeian rock to be installed in the Capitol. When the above event, which was soon bruited about, became known to the Pope, hesent for the Padre Ferrara, and complimented him highly upon the christian charity and forbearance he had evinced, but at the same time informed him that policy and a just maintenance of the majesty of the laws, precluded his following the priest's worthy example, by the extension of pardon to the delinquent for so gross a breach of the peace. The Padre Ferrara besought the Pope to confirm his forgiveness, but Pius IX, was inflexible, "while," said he, "I highly praise your christian spirit as a disciple of our Lord, it remains for us to act, as becomes a Sovereign."

CHAPTER V.

Ecclesiastical principalities...Machiavelli...Fête of the Roman youth...The storm...The inundation .. its effects and causes...Benevolent donation of Pius IX....The Contemporaneo, the first Italian liberal Journal...its profession of faith...Meeting in the Capitol...Speech of Cardinal Altieri...The Spanish Minister and the Concordat...The Pope's decision...The Austrian Ambassador and Cardinal Gizzi...Pius IX. and the Cardinal...The Consistory...Character of Cardinal Marini—The Pope and the landed proprietors... The fête of Pius IX.... Beautiful address of the Roman youth...The Sovereign's answer...Moral and Political character of the Pontiff...Summary of his acts.

THREE centuries have elapsed since Machiavelli, when describing, in his "Prince" the nature of the ecclesiastical principalities, said " They are difficult to acquire, but once obtained, by fortune or by virtue, nothing more is required to maintain them. Ancient religious institutions, always strong and powerful, are

their support, whatever may be the life or the government of the Sovereign. The Princes of the Church alone hold states, which require no defence, and subjects, who have no want of government; nobody thinks of attacking defenceless states, and in so mild a government no one dreams of detaching himself from a Prince, whose yoke is so insensible to him who bears it. Thus then, the ecclesiastical principalities are the only stable and peaceable states—moreover, as they are regulated and sustained by causes which are superior to human reason, we abstain from speaking of them.”

In these days, the same causes for prudence do not exist with us; the lives and government of the Princes of the Church have become, with the development of liberal ideas, and the new institutions which now govern the majority of men, questions of the deepest importance as a safeguard for those ancient institutions which the judgment of the age has so much diminished.

We have seen, and shall see again, that the

Ecclesiastical states may be attacked, although defenceless ; and on the other hand that they are governed and sustained by causes which are not always superior to human reason.

The Roman subjects had never been nearer to a separation from the government than upon the death of Gregory XVI., whose yoke was far indeed from being insensible to those who bore it. Never perhaps since the time of Machiavelli had the Roman horizon been charged with such lowering clouds, such evidences of a coming storm. Pius IX. could not defend himself but by his virtues, united to extraordinary talent.

In the month of December, 1846, the studious and intelligent youth of Rome, the hope of the new state of things, anxious to testify to their sovereign the joy with which his wise and beneficent measures of reform had inspired them, desirous also to prove to all malcontents that there was no abatement or diminution in their confidence and affection for their prince,

determined to make a demonstration, which, for its numbers and spirit, should leave no doubt as to their loyalty to his person, and their adherence to his cause. For this object they selected the 10th of the month, the anniversary of the day on which, according to a very ancient custom, the Pope visited the Church of the Holy Apostles. The young men made an instant appeal to their brethren of the Colleges of Bologna, who, faithful to their Roman comrades, arrived *en masse* to join in the projected movement. At three o'clock in the afternoon the Pope entered the church, passing through a double file of two thousand students, drawn up before the entrance—who received him with a feeling of enthusiasm which could not fail to make a lasting effect upon his mind. Just at this moment one of the most awful storms ever witnessed in Rome burst forth—and the cheers of the students were answered by the thunders of the heavens in their loudest peals, while the

lightning sent forth its vivid fluid with an intensity which baffles all description.

The Pope, who had entered the church, kindly returned to the portal to beg the youths to retire for shelter, but he was answered only by the most deafening and enthusiastic cheers and vivas; and notwithstanding that the rain now poured down in torrents, and the students were drenched with wet, they continued firm to the object which had invited them, and refused to avail themselves of the good Pontiff's suggestions and entreaties to shelter themselves from the pitiless storm. On the Pope's return these brave youths ranged themselves in processional order, and marched with the cortége to the palace of the Quirinal, where having sung the hymn to the Pope, and received his benediction, they cried again *Viva Pio Nono*—and retired peaceably to their colleges and lodgings.

A few days after, a deplorable event occurred, which the storm, to which we have just alluded,

was perhaps but the prelude. Rome was visited with a terrible inundation on the seventh of December which at first presented nothing unusual beyond the rapidity and the elevation of the waters of the Tiber. Since 1805 no similar inundation had occurred. In a few hours one third of the City was under water. In the whole length of the Corso, from the Piazza del Popolo to the Piazza Colonna, La Ripetta, the Ghetto, and all the streets on the left, from the Monte Pincio, as far as Palestrino, the water rose upwards of six feet. This disastrous circumstance furnished the Sovereign Pontiff with a fresh opportunity to display the generosity of his disposition, his devotion to his people, and his truly christian benevolence. Upon his appeal for succour for the unfortunate, nobles, prelates, citizens, and women, all rivalled each other in zeal and intrepidity in flying to the relief of the victims of this calamity, many of whom were completely blocked up in their houses by the rising water, and ran the risk his of drowning and starvation.

Nothing could exceed the benevolent exertions of Pius IX. on this melancholy occasion, or the active measures he adopted for the preservation of the victims of this catastrophe ; and to minister to the wants of his people, he ordered depots to be opened in various quarters of the city for the supply of food, medicine, and clothing to the sufferers, under a calamity which no human forethought could have guarded against. He opened subscriptions in favour of the people, and consulting their wants more than the limited nature of his own resources, he himself subscribed the munificent sum of 12,000 francs. By his orders a commission was opened under the presidency of the Cardinal Vicar, composed of M.M. Medicis and Arnaldi, and the Princes Doria, Bracciano, and Massimo, to receive the spontaneous offerings of the Romans in aid of their unfortunate fellow subjects. During this period it was curious to see thousands of boats plying in the streets and on the river, carrying

food to the starving, and receiving those who escaped, by means of ladders, from the upper windows of their houses. While these scenes were passing in Rome, the situation of the inhabitants of the low grounds in the country was infinitely more distressing and perilous. Farms were entirely desolated, houses and the cottages of the poorer classes were swept away, and men, women, and children, shepherds and their whole flocks were carried off by the remorseless waves, and drowned in the Tiber. The ravages created by this inundation were terrific, but after a time a north wind sprung up, the sky became serene, the waters receded, and the river soon returned to its natural confines. These dreadful inundations arise from two causes, which happily seldom unite, namely, continued rains for many days, and the prevalence of an easterly wind, which send back the rising tides, and throw up sand banks at the mouth of the Tiber, so as to impede the natural course of the river.

An event of great importance marked the latter end of the year 1846, and caused no inconsiderable excitement in Rome. This was the appearance of the first number of a political journal, entitled the *Contemporaneo*. It was truly an important event, as the press existed not in Rome until that period; and the publication of a political journal was a fresh victory over the enemies of that wise and prudential system of reform, which owed its origin to Pius IX. The political principles of this journal, the common father of the liberal press of Italy, responded perfectly to the wants of the people of Rome, as well as of the whole peninsula. The *Contemporaneo* carefully reviewed the various opinions of the politicians of the day, in order the more securely to draw its own conclusions, and assume a high position in the face of that clique which, avowing themselves the enemies of innovation, desired to remain shrouded by the mists of prejudice, and enveloped in the ignorance of their ancestors,

who acknowledged no other principle of government than that of coercion. The opinions of this journal were such as were required by the spirit of the age—moderate, noble, and firm; speaking of the retrogressive party, it said, these men belong not to us, we are totally opposed to their views, for we desire that which they reject, we would establish that which they repulse. “We seek,” says the editor, “protection for the orphan, asylums for infancy, houses of reception for the starving youth, workshops for the unemployed artisan, saving banks and mutual societies for the benefit of the lower classes; the penitentiary system for the vicious, and Sunday and evening schools for the people. Fear, (adds the writer) inspired by the demon of revolution, has troubled the spirits of the best-intentioned men. We also separate ourselves (he continues) from those men who greedy for sudden change and impatient of novelty, agitated by ardent passions, frequently disorganised, impelled by generous,

but too often violent intentions, regard no obstacle to the consummation of their views, and rejecting reason and prudence, would root out the abuses of ages in one day, and in the same space of time, realise their fondest aspirations by reforms which time alone can accomplish without danger to society." The *Contemporaneo* concludes its admirable profession of faith by an appeal to the intelligent youth of the Roman Colleges, in which it urges these young men, in whose generous bosoms the fire of liberty burns brightly, to combat against error and crime, and by their example, to prove to the world their title to freedom; and for this purpose it places its columns at their disposition. The manner in which the chief of the Roman Government received the first efforts of a liberal journal, did him the greatest honour. He saw that this newly-created power was essential to the regeneration of his country, and he applauded its object. Napoleon, on the contrary, not-

withstanding his power, maintained that the liberty of the press was incompatible with government,—that the press was ever the enemy of the republic, and that the administration was bound to watch over it with care and severity; such an opinion in these days would only excite the ridicule of the world, but Bonaparte went further, and pretended that the press, by its indiscretion, might seriously compromise military operations, by violent attacks upon foreign governments, and impede the reconciliation of the French republic with the great powers of Europe. Pius IX. has wiser views, and so far from doubting the beneficial effect of a free press, he is constantly preparing for it subjects for praise and sympathy.

While the editors of the *Contemporaneo* were establishing their claims to public support by the advocacy of liberal principles and necessary reforms, the Arcadian academy of Rome held a solemn meeting in the Capitol in honour of

the Sovereign Pontiff. The highest society of Rome, consisting of Cardinal Princes, Archbishops, Bishops, general and superior officers of the army, poets, and authors, mingled together on this occasion to listen to the eloquence of the Cardinal Altieri. The speech of this prince of the church was heard with the most profound silence, interrupted only occasionally by the applause of his auditory. In the course of his address, he introduced the subjects of the Amnesty, the projected railways, the scientific congress, the reforms accomplished, and those still to be carried out, and terminated a discourse replete with wisdom, and remarkable for its argumentative vigour, by warning the too eager and ardent against the folly of that impatience which required the complete structure of the social edifice, when the foundation-stone of the building was scarcely laid. Loud bursts of the most enthusiastic applause echoed through the Capitol upon the conclusion of this eloquent

address, in which the names of Pius IX. and Altieri were announced with universal acclamation.

It may easily be conceived that these continual and unanimous manifestations of the public sympathy and approbation greatly increased the moral force, by which alone the sovereign Pontiff felt he could achieve the noble objects he had in view, and enabled him, from the increased strength given thereby to his temporal power, to treat with neighbouring sovereigns upon those terms of equality which had neither been conceded nor assumed for some centuries, by reason of the relative weakness of the Holy See; and from this moment, powerful empires, whose intercourse with the ecclesiastical states had long ceased, began to reflect upon the necessity of being represented at the Court of Rome.

At this period a great question came under discussion in the Council of the Pope. Spain had sent a diplomatic agent to Rome in order

to obtain a Concordat. The business had been several times discussed in the congregation of Cardinals, and the decision of the Pontiff was anxiously looked for. On this occasion Pius IX, presided at the council, and declared the utter impossibility of treating with a Government, which so far from encouraging religion, or maintaining the clergy, had despoiled the Church of its revenues, and overthrown every pious institution in Spain. "When," said the Pope, "the question is one in which the honor of God is concerned, his minister will make no dangerous concessions, for compliance then becomes a weakness, and weakness approaches to crime." Pius IX. displayed equal energy and infinitely more spirit with respect to Austria, who, disappointed and angry with the result of her negotiations, sent note after note to her Ambassador. In this state of things, Cardinal Gizzi knew not how to reply to the Count de Lutzow, and feeling his embarrassment, demanded of his Holiness what he should do in reference to the numerous letters he had

received from this Ambassador. "Merely acknowledge their receipt," replied the Pope.

On another occasion, one of the Cardinals of the retrogressive policy wishing to create alarm in the mind of his Sovereign, thus addressed him :—

"Holiness, I cannot dissemble from you that the acts of the Austrian Court prove its constant hostility to Rome. The day is not perhaps far distant when that overwhelming power, may, in snatching our country from our hands, make us remember that it bears the form of a boot."

In saying which, the Cardinal made a motion with his foot indicative of expulsion.

"When that day arrives," replied Pius IX. with the utmost dignity, "we shall appeal to the love of our people, and the patriotism of Italy, and Pius IX. will then know how to fasten a spur upon that boot."*

* A similar *jeu d'esprit* is attributed to the Emperors Charles V. and Napoleon.

On the 21st December the Pope held a secret consistory. In order to give stability to his government, and an assurance to his people of his intentions to carry out the institutions he had projected, he availed himself of the expiration of the terms of service of the governors and other officials, in order to promote merit, and replace, by men of liberal and progressive views, those whose conduct had given rise to suspicions; thus insensibly creating an administrative body devoted to his political views, and his fervent desire for the regeneration of his country. On this occasion Mgr. Baluffi, archbishop of Imola, and Mgr. Marini, governor of Rome, and director general of the police, were created cardinals, and two other cardinals were created *in petto*. The Pope also named ten archbishops and bishops, *in partibus infidelium*. In the same consistory, he named Mgr. Rusconi as the legate to Ancona; to Prouse, Mgr. Consolini; to Ascoli, Mgr. Dialti; to Rieti, Mgr. Badia; while he appointed the ex-

delegates of these legations Mgr. Belgrado and Mgr. Serifini, secretary of the Chamber, and Votante di Segnatura. Three new domestic prelates also received their appointments on this occasion—M. Sbaretti formerly vicar of Imola during the period in which Pius IX. exercised the episcopal functions of that diocese, M. Rufini and M. Brani, ex-lieutenant of government.

These new appointments met with the entire concurrence of the public with one single exception, that of Mgr. Marini, governor of Rome, Vice Camerlengo, and Director General of the Police. Mgr. Marini was neither loved nor esteemed ; he was generally reproached for the disorders and injustice of his administration. All the efficiency of the police was deteriorated in his hands, except that which related to political affairs, and upon this point he displayed very little intelligence ; but there are in all governments, persons who cannot be overlooked without danger, and of this num-

ber was Mgr. Marini. director general of a force, the very name of which is revolting in every country except England, because under its mission of protection to the person, it exercises the hateful office of spy ; but at Rome a third quality, that of thieving and embezzlement, is added to its functions—indeed it could not avoid abusing the vast power which a feeble government had unfortunately abandoned to its keeping during so long a period. To return however to the Director General of the Police of Rome : This Fouché of the Pope had against him the enmity of the people, who attributed all the evils and wrongs of the administration to him, but the Pope had on his side as a justification for his continuance in office, that species of gratitude which princes always bear towards those who possess the intimate secrets of state affairs, and a forced obligation commanded by certain positions, in the number of which stood Mgr. Marina.

Owing to the failure of the crops

this year, and the consequent famine which sowed desolation and death throughout Europe with a more unsparing hand than even the Asiatic cholera, Pius IX. called the great landed proprietors together, and informed them that it was his intention to cultivate all the church lands in the most prompt and efficacious manner so as to prevent the return of so terrible an infliction upon his people.

“I hope,” he said, “you will imitate my example, and that you will proceed in the same manner upon your vast domains, which are unfortunately so badly cultivated; if not, I shall feel compelled to take the charge upon myself as sovereign, but to the profit of the state and the citizens.”

This determination did not fail to produce the desired result.

The latter end of the year at Rome is a period remarkable for the celebration of brilliant festivals, the series of which commence upon the anniversary of St. John the Evan-

gelist, which is also the fête of Pius IX. On the eve of this auspicious event, the Roman youth prepared a serenade for their sovereign, and collecting their forces on the Piazza del Popolo, to the amount of upwards of twenty thousand, they marched in procession to the Quirinal, accompanied by bands of music, flags and banners of the Papal colours, bearing inscriptions in honour of the occasion. Upon their arrival, the sound of music, and the enthusiastic cries of "Long live Pius IX." brought the Sovereign Pontiff to the balcony, when a deputation of the youth presented him with an enormous bouquet, composed of white lilies and *immortelles*, while the choristers chaunted Verdi's Hymn. As soon as the music ceased, a young author, one of the amnestied political offenders, approached the Pope, and addressed him as follows:—

"Holy Father—The angels should rejoice with us poor children of men, for to-day is the *fête* of an archangel of the earth. Would that we

could offer you presents worthy your acceptance, heavenly presents! but we possess nothing here below but these flowers and our love: flowers to crown your august brow—love to rejoice your paternal heart.

“If it be true that the love of the people is the wealth of kings, you are the richest sovereign of the universe, for you are the best beloved amongst those who bear the crown and the sceptre. Holy Father, accept then our flowers and our love; may our love embalm your life, as these flowers will perfume your sleep, the sleep of the just, this night. Yet these flowers will pass away, for they are ephemeral, like all things of earth; but our love will resist the effects of time, for it is eternal, like all things which come from above.

“Holy Father—Be blessed and beloved upon earth, as you will be one day in heaven—Live for ever, Pius IX.”

Pius IX. replied to this complimentary

address in the most touching manner, saying—

“My friends and children--I accept your flowers and your love; the flowers remind me of the fragile nature of all human things, and will thus subdue that feeling of pride to which your enthusiastic manifestations expose me every day; your love will give me strength and courage to overcome all the obstacles which oppose themselves to the perfect happiness of my people.”

After this address, a stentorian voice, making itself heard above the plaudits which followed, cried out, “*beatissimo Padre, regno felice !*”

The year 1846 being now brought to a close, we may affirm that the character of the Sovereign Pontiff, both moral and political, has displayed itself to his honour and glory upon every occasion, from the period of his election to the Pontifical throne, notwithstanding the difficulties by which he was surrounded. This great man felt that the period for action had arrived, and that he must either suffer

himself to be carried away by the currents of prejudice, and those malpractices which had so nearly involved his predecessors, or that he must march onwards in the cause of progress : and he chose the nobler part. Of all that Rome had possessed, he left only the fundamental religious institutions untouched ; the ecclesiastical abuses were rooted up with the Pontifical cross ; for there was the evil, there the cause of all the disorders in society—the incompatibility between the past and the present. The principles of economy which ruled Italy had been in practice for many centuries, while the actual condition of the country had nothing in common with the epoch in which they took their rise. Under the guidance of the great man who has called forth the aid of political economy to fertilise the soil, Italy has received the first ideas of a budget, and the estimate of ways and means, together with a financial law, shewing at the first glance the true state of the country's resources, as well

as the expenses of the civil and criminal administration, before which it was impossible to form any estimate whatever of the state of crime, or the progress of business, while the commercial estimates, the local statistics, and the results of education, offer an effectual barrier to the antiquated practices and prejudices of former administrations.

Whichever way we turn our eyes, it is impossible not to be struck with the progress of improvement and the amelioration of the institutions. The Pope clearly comprehended that material power was the necessary and indispensable auxiliary of moral improvement, and that the production of wealth brought a larger amount of prosperity and morality to the working classes, who form the mass of the nation, and he wisely cleared the way for the accomplishment of so worthy an object.

We shall see, as an immediate consequence, the sudden rising of a new population in Italy, a population of funded proprietors, offering

new markets to the products of the soil as well as to manufactures, which must increase with the increasing wants of the people, and furnish immense resources to the public treasures. With these changes will occur the progressive increase of indirect taxes, the augmentation of the excise duties and customs, and the general improvement of the public revenue.

We may therefore boldly assert that the successor of Pius IX. could never by a *motu proprio*, in opposition to those which have emanated from this great economist, venture to change a constitution in which the industry and property of the State are brought into such prominent action, or endanger the capital invested in the improvements of modern Italy. The destruction, by a similar ordinance of the railroads, which have already tripled the value of property, is too absurd for a moment's consideration, nor can we contemplate, by any act of his successor, the disappointed hopes and

prospects of the thousands of young, active, and intelligent public functionaries, upon whom Pius IX. relies for the remodelling and general reconstruction of Roman society. It is equally impossible to imagine that a future Pontiff would overthrow the sacred college as recomposed of men of noble and generous sentiments, possessing public confidence and the popular favor, and full of sympathy for the Prince who, in the short space of six months, has effected such vast and beneficial changes in the laws, politics, the police, the discipline of the church, agriculture, manufactures, and commercial enterprise, and the sciences in general—but we must leave the details of these changes to the national historian, contenting ourselves, as foreigners, with showing what this great man is who is the father of his empire.

CHAPTER VI.

New year's day...Address of the people...The Pope's reply...Homage of the Ambassadors...Concert in the Capitol...Rossini...Tenerani...Reformation of the Canon laws...The Roman tribunals...The Edict...Promulgation of the Reforms...Secret prosecutions...Opening of the Courts...The advocate Morandi...Proclamation of the Cardinal Amat...The Pope's Sermon.

THE year 1847 opened with a brilliant fête, which following so soon after the desolation and horrors of the late inundation, attests the elasticity and buoyancy of the Italian character, and the facility with which the people of that sunny clime forget their sorrows in the anticipation of novelty.

The whole population *en masse* directed its steps towards the Monte Cavallo, bearing banners and garlands of flowers, and ranging themselves in processional order, marched to the Palace, to renew their sentiments of love, hope and devotion to their Sovereign. In accordance with ancient usages Pius IX. knew that he had that day to receive the official authorities and foreign Ambassadors, and to listen to their long prepared orations in honour of the occasion, but the natural truth and honest simplicity of the people were more truly welcome to his paternal heart.

As soon as the masses approached the balcony and silence was obtained, the following discourse was pronounced by the person chosen for that purpose from among the people—

“ Holy father,

“ We are neither orators nor men of learning, we, the children of the people, deal little in fine words, greatly as we esteem good actions. Learning is not of much consequence to us

the heart is everything, for without the heart learning is more dangerous than useful.

“ The learned men and the orators will come by and by with their grand speeches, their fine discourses; but we come before them, while they are sleeping, to wish you a happy new year, a year in which we trust all the hours may be marked to your holiness by happiness, and every minute with satisfaction. We come to tell you that we love you more than any Sovereign Pope was ever loved before. Our fathers have told us that the ancient Romans made Jupiters of their Emperors, we love you so much that we would make a god of you if Jesus Christ our Lord were not the only true God of Heaven and Earth.

“ We come also to tell you that you may count upon the sons of the people for life or death. Our arms, our blood, our fortunes are yours, speak! command! we are entirely at your service.”

To this touching address the Pope replied

with the greatest kindness, and affability, mingling, however, with his thanks a useful censure upon their contempt for learning and intelligence:

“ My children,” he said, “ I thank you for your kind wishes, which reach my heart. In exchange, receive those which I make each day for your happiness; for you know that it is the constant object of my cares, my watchings, my thoughts day and night, the earnest desire of that life which I consecrate to you. Learning without heart, as you have well observed, is often fatal, but when it is rightly ordered, it is not to be despised, for it conceives the noblest and the greatest actions which the heart prepares, and labour brings into operation; for all great things proceed from the heart. I know your devotion, my children, I also know your love, you have given me too many proofs to suffer me to doubt either the one or the other. It is then in those proofs and in your love that

I rest my chief hopes after those which God gives me daily—pray to Him for me, pray to Him to give me strength to accomplish all the good which my heart desires and conceives for the promotion of your welfare."

A few hours afterwards the diplomatic bodies, the Cardinals and Archbishops, the religious, military and civil authorities arrived at the Palace to felicitate the Pope upon the advent of the new year.

In the evening the *élite* of Roman society assembled in the great hall of the Capitol, where a magnificent concert was given in honor of the Pope. Two thousand persons applauded to the very echo the splendid composition of Rossini, who was himself present, and took a part in the grand chorus in praise of the William Tell of the Roman states. Tenerani, the worthy, modest, and learned successor of the great Calova, had furnished a noble bust of Pius IX., which was placed upon a throne of

flowers and brilliantly illuminated, and the great painters of the day had also subscribed their talent in the decoration of the hall.

While the Roman people and the foreign Ambassadors were rendering their homage to the Sovereign Pontiff, he was inaugurating the year 1847 by the reformation of the civil, criminal, and canon laws; and it is by such changes in legislature that the character of the people is seriously and beneficially modified, while they honour the Sovereign who is called by Providence to govern them; for the laws are ever the most instructive and characteristic monuments of history, as well as the dominant thoughts of the Princes from whom they emanate.

Upon the question of the reformation of the canon law, we may observe, that religion requires a temporal state, for persuasion and moral authority alone are not sufficient; it wants still that strength and power which emanate from an organization more or less dove-

tailed with the constitution of the state itself. Unfortunately in the last centuries the tribunal of penitence at Rome had lost much of that high primitive character in which the Bishops, who followed the first apostles, were clothed; their perfidy and incapacity for governing, their cupidity and cowardice, which excited the indignation of all honest minds, had not the less degraded, dishonored, and defiled every branch of political and civil legislation. Property and persons, the laws and the penitents were subject to the most arbitrary sway; the Government interfered in everything. It went so far as to control the father's choice of a profession for his son, or the husband he should give to his daughter. It was the reign of the Cardinals' mistresses, and the *birri* and *Papalini*, species of soldiers met with in the vilest haunts of brigands. Sometimes the asylum granted by the Church, was carried to such an extent, that the robbers established their head-quarters in the very sanctuary, from whence they sallied

forth at night to commit their murders and depredations in the neighbouring districts. Bands of brigands have frequently been seen in the environs of Terni, and in the Marches and the Sabine country, giving battle to the soldiers of the state, the *birri* and *Papalini*, and putting them to flight, and during whole months the towns of Frasinone and of Rocia di Papa have been occupied by robbers, who had boldly planted themselves within the walls, and levied contributions upon the surrounding country. But these things, we sincerely trust and believe, will never be re-enacted, and will be remembered hereafter only as matters of interest to the antiquarian, the professor, and historian, when congratulating their pupils upon the progress of civilization and the blessings of mental cultivation.

The promulgation of these wise and benevolent ameliorations in the civil and criminal codes, which gave such universal satisfaction, marked the opening of the year 1847, while

the grand object of the Pontiff to effect all necessary reforms in the canon law, so as to give a fresh vigour to the Church, proceeded slowly and cautiously, but not the less surely towards completion. Anciently, the three criminal tribunals of Rome had nearly equal jurisdiction, the delinquents having the right of presenting themselves to one or the other--these were the tribunals *del Governo, della Camera,** and *del Campidoglio*, there were also two privileged tribunals for ecclesiastical immunity--the tribunal of the Sacred Apostolical Palace, and that of the Vicariato, for the surveillance and repression of misdemeanours, and offences

* It is an ecclesiastical court which takes cognizance of all matters relating to the state treasure, the domains of the Church, or of affairs in which the Pontiff is specially concerned. It is presided over by the *Camerlengo*, who is always a Cardinal; the other members are the Governor of Rome, or the Vice *Camerlengo*, a treasurer, an Auditor, and twelve prelates who bear the name of Clerks or Notaries of the Chamber.

against public morals ; and over all these was the Court of the *Sacra Consulta*, as a supreme tribunal of revision and appeal, of which the judges were all ecclesiastics, and sometimes sentenced the prisoners to death contrary to the canons of the Church.

The reforms promulgated by Pius IX. to take effect from the 1st. January 1847, were as follows :

1st. The criminal tribunals of the Chamber and of Campidoglio are suppressed, and their respective jurisdictions concentrated in that of the tribunal *del Governo*.

2nd. The tribunal *del Governo* itself is reformed and its powers modified.

3rd. The provincial tribunals will continue according to their present constitution, subject however to the supreme Court *della Consulta*, to which are commanded to transmit monthly or quarterly accounts of the causes, state of prisons &c. &c., in order that annual statistical tables of crime may be correctly formed.

4th. In order that the supreme tribunal may correspond in all possible activity and zeal with the wishes of the Sovereign, for the good and regular administration of justice, the president and the judges of the *Sacra consulta* shall be assisted by an auditor, to be nominated and paid by Government."

The above are the principal elements of the reforms in the criminal jurisprudence, that part of legislation which more immediately affects the liberty of the subject, and which has consequently the greatest effect upon the character of the people; and there can be no doubt that this simplification of the criminal process and opening the Courts to the public, will be attended with all the success anticipated by the Pope and his Ministers. In those countries where criminal prosecutions are public, each trial is a great moral lesson to the auditory. The lower orders, who frequently require some moral support against the temptations which besiege them, learn before the Court, that the

crime committed in the dark, notwithstanding all the precautions which vice and villany may suggest to hide it from the eye of man, will one day be brought to light and the knowledge of their judges, either by the activity of a good police, or unforeseen circumstances; a troubled conscience often betrays the guilty mind, and little or no enjoyment ever follows the acquisitions of crime. They will learn that the law which watches them is humanity enlightened by that justice, which presides on the seat of judgment, and although all good feeling must be enlisted on the side of innocence, they will abandon the guilty without regret to the severity of the law. On the other hand where the prosecution is secret, where the proceedings are closed against the people, the sentence offers no amends to society. The prisoner mounts the scaffold, perhaps seized with terror; he curses the rigour of his judges, and the severity of the judgment, and the world naturally sympathises in the misery of the man, of whom it knows nothing beyond his sufferings.

Up to this period the criminal proceedings throughout Italy were as secret as those of the English star-chamber in the days of the Plantagenets and Stuarts ; therefore nothing could be more just than the prejudice and odium in which the Italian ministers were held by the people. Italy was the only country in the world where legal infamy opposed no barrier to power, on the contrary it was a condition required for the exercise of certain authority.

The Edict of Pius IX. will produce the most salutary effect that justice can accomplish for the morality of the people. In civil or criminal matters henceforth the accused will not tremble before an authority which is not accountable for his actions. The publicity of judicial proceedings will not merely have the effect of enabling the people to assist by their presence in rendering and obtaining justice for the accused, or in forming their political education and in developing their intelligence, as well as creating a respect for the laws, but it is an introduction to trial by jury, the parti-

icipation of the people themselves in the judicial power.

Rome participates largely in the ameliorations which the present progressive state of society reclaims. She will find within her wide walls competitors to Romagnosi and Gioja, two jurisconsults who do honour to Lombardy, to Rufaelli, Laurea, Nicolini, who have published works upon various branches of law at Naples, which are worthy the attention of Europe; there will rise up in Rome rivals to Carmagnani of Pisa, the learned author of "The theory of the laws upon social security."

In addition to these well founded hopes of future happiness to Italy under the new order of things, we cannot doubt that the more merciful administration of the law will produce a more lenient treatment of those misguided men who indulge in its infraction. Mercy, the noblest attribute of Christianity, may be called upon to visit the prison cells, and to lighten the sufferings of the sinner, and religion may

be made instrumental to his instruction and enlightenment, not only as a penitent criminal, but as a future member of society. The advocate Morandi (afterwards Governor of Rome) one of the most celebrated legitists of Italy, who contributed greatly to these legal reforms, said "that Christianity may dictate to man, that mutual welfare is no more the aim of life, than the worship of riches; that labor is not a primitive law of humanity, but the result of hard necessity." It will be the glory of Religion to teach modern society the true principles of legislation applicable as well to prisoners as to the indigent.

Upon the 4th January, the Cardinal Amat, whose nomination, to the legation of Bologna, we have before mentioned, took possession of his government in the midst of the joyful demonstrations of the inhabitants, and the same day he published the following proclamation:—

"Louis Amat, Cardinal, &c. Legate of the City and Province of Bologna.

“ Bolognese !

“ The great Pontiff, whom Divine Providence hath placed upon the chair of St. Peter, this magnanimous Sovereign who was so prompt in wiping away the tears of his children, Pius IX., whom the world so admires, has sent us to you as interpreter of his Sovereign will. Entirely occupied with the welfare of his people, he asks his subjects to second his efforts by their respect for our religion, their obedience to the laws, their submission to the authorities. Convinced of the love of his subjects, convinced of their gratitude, which has burst forth in so many ways, he desires, but one thing, which is that you continue, by the faithful discharge of these sacred duties, to furnish a more pressing motive for doing good to his generous heart, which each day is inflamed the more at the fire of religion for the happiness of his beloved children. We who have been charged with so glorious a mission, we who know by the mild and dearest recollections how worthy you are, we cannot prevent ourselves from reminding you how much you should reciprocate his noble intentions. Full of confidence in the paternal heart of your Sovereign, under the auspices of peace and tranquillity, let the generous thoughts he has manifested, freely develop themselves by the organ of his first Minister. Wait until he, to whom your wants are known, and with the calm and confidence which distinguish you, wait

until he apply those remedies, which, in the greatness of his soul, he has ready prepared for you. Make him also who is charged to be his interpreter to you, the organ of your communication to his sacred person, and manifest to him, on all occasions, your just desires.

“ Bolognese !

“ All our zeal, all our efforts will tend only to confirm our unshakeable resolution to effect your welfare, that happiness which should consolidate among you peace and tranquillity, and with them, all the ameliorations which, in satisfying your legitimate wishes, will advance your progress towards true felicity.

“ 4th. Jan. 1847.

“ LOUIS, CARDINAL AMAT.”

In a former portion of this work, we recounted the fact of the Bishop of Imola having taken the place of the parish priest, on an occasion of the sudden illness of the latter, in the pulpit. A nearly similar accident induced the same person, in his new character of Sovereign Pontiff, to preach in the Church de Santo-Andrea-della-Valle, on the 13th of January.

The circumstance has been noticed in the chronological tables of the past year, as an event which had not occurred before for three hundred years. But it is as well that it should be known that it was not a premeditated design on the part of his Holiness, but merely the result of accident. On the day in question,—the Octave of the Epiphany—the celebrated preacher, the Padre Ventura, whose eloquence attracted crowds of eager listeners, had not arrived at the church, and the disappointed congregation, thinking indisposition was the cause of his absence, were on the point of retiring, when, suddenly, the bells rang, and announced the unexpected arrival of the Sovereign Pontiff. It is impossible to describe the feelings of the congregation, or the deep interest and excitement which were produced in their minds when they saw Pius IX. advance towards the pulpit—or the profound silence with which they listened to his discourse, a few extracts from which must be interesting

to the reader, if only upon the score of novelty. He commenced his address as follows:—

“My beloved children, I cannot, without the most lively sentiment of emotion, recall the testimonies of affection which you offered me on the new year’s day. My heart thanks you for your kind wishes; and believing, as I ought, that that which you do for me is only in honour of God, whose unworthy vicar I am, I invited you to bless the name of Christ, by these words—‘*Sit nomen Domini benedictum,*’ And you all replied to me, heartily, and in the accent of faith—‘*Ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum.*’

“I have recalled these solemn engagements to your recollection, because I know that there are some few in this city—the centre of Catholicism—who profane the name of God by blasphemy. All ye who are now here, receive from me, your father, this mission—publish everywhere that I have no hope for such men. They cast against Heaven the stone which

crushes them as it returns. To blaspheme the name of their common father, who gives us life, and all the good we enjoy, is filling the measure of ingratitude to the overflow. Tell such of my people as offend by these outrages, that I beg they will no longer scandalize the Holy City."

In the course of his address, he alluded thus to the impure morals of the Roman youth:—

"Many fathers and mothers have complained to me of the pain and anguish they are suffering, in beholding the demon of impurity exercising his ravages upon their sons. Our Lord tells us that it is by prayer and fasting that we can enchain the desolating demon, who goes about to destroy the earth, and not only empoisons the sources of life to individuals, to families, and to society in general, but consummates the ruin of their souls."

The Pope thus concluded his address:—

"Oh Lord, *respice de cælo*—turn your eyes towards us; visit this vine which your right

hand planted. *Visita vineam istam quam plantavit dextera sua.* Visit it, not to punish the wicked, but to make them feel the sweet effects of your mercy. Visit it, to cure the sore of incredulity which devours the world—visit it, and in visiting it, cast off the iron hand which weighs it down. Visit it, and purify the hearts of its children. Pour into the bosom of the rising generations those two beautiful attributes of youth—modesty and docility. Extinguish those fearful hatreds which divide the citizens, and arm them one against the other. Oh Lord—charge the sentinels of Israel to show a good example, and to arm themselves with strength and divine prudence, in order to watch over the interests of the people committed to their guidance. Deign, oh my God, to hear my prayer, and pour down upon these people, this city, and upon the whole world, thy choicest blessings.”

In the whole of his discourse, which was but of short duration, the Pope confined himself to the grand object of his constant solicitude—the reformation of the morals of a people to whom

he was about to offer political regeneration—and certainly no man, from the purity of his life and actions, or the great benefits he was about to offer them—could be better entitled to demand of their gratitude, that abstinence from vice, which alone could render them worthy of the important political changes and power he was about to make and confer upon his people.”

CHAPTER VII.

The famine in Ireland—Subscription of the Pope—
The Padre Ventura—Irish Committee—Reply of
Pius IX.—The rosary—Autograph of the Pontiff
—Italian mendicity—The beggars of Munich—
Reduction of the salt duties—The Agricultural
Society—The Academy of the Lincei—The retro-
gressive party—Reduction of the Swiss Guard—
Austrian policy—Count Lutzow and the Pope—
The murder at Leghorn—The Grand Duke and
the galley slaves—The Transteverino and the
orange dealer—The travellers and the brigands—
Pius IX. and the dying French artist—The hospi-
tal Chaplain and the Sovereign Pontiff.

AT this period a considerable part of Europe
was afflicted by a famine, which almost deci-
mated the labouring populations. Ireland, al-
ready so unfortunate in many respects, was
more severely scourged than any other nation,

by reason of its habitual misery in the midst of abundant fertility. What an extraordinary contrast this country presents! Providence has been most prodigal in spreading her treasures upon the land, yet the inhabitants condemn themselves to starvation. Volumes would not suffice to tell the real miseries of the people of the Emerald Isle—miseries which are perpetuated, if not by indigenous indolence, by a want of energy, and the total absence of all spirit of emulation, or desire to improve their own condition. The general dissemination of education can alone hold out the hope of any amelioration in their condition; and the prosperity of Ireland must be achieved by the efforts of the rising generation acting in concert with a liberal and enlightened government. But it is not our province to discuss the grievances or the crimes of Ireland, we revert only to the famine of 1847 to show the beneficence and charity of Pius IX. in behalf of the suffering millions of a Christian community, endeared

to him no doubt by their steady adherence to that faith of which he is the spiritual chief. When the news of the famine in Ireland reached the Eternal City, the English who were sojourning there held a meeting; and to all the resolutions which were passed in favor of their suffering fellow subjects Pius IX. gave his entire and cordial support. He also subscribed 3,000 francs from his private resources, and exhorted his people in the most moving terms to lend their aid for the succour of their fellow creatures.

For this purpose the Padre Ventura, the most eloquent of all the Italian divines, preached—by order of the Pope—a sermon, on 25th January, in the church of Santo Andrea della Valle, (where a three days' collection was also made,) to an immense congregation, in which he recited the miseries of the peasantry of Ireland in such touching language, as drew tears from the eyes of his auditory, and, by force of his eloquence, more substantial benefit in the na-

ture of subscriptions to the funds destined for the relief of suffering humanity. A few days afterwards the committee in favor of the Irish subscription had the honor of an audience with his Holiness, who received the deputation with dignified courtesy. They were introduced generally and individually by the Revd. Dr. Cullen, President of the Irish College. In reply to the address of acknowledgment, the Pope said—

“ I feel much obliged to you for the sentiments you have manifested towards me. It affords me great consolation to see so many benevolent gentlemen from every part of the United Kingdom engaged in so excellent a work of charity, exerting themselves to arrest the progress of famine, and striving to alleviate the dreadful distress of their brethren in Ireland. Were the means at my command more extensive, I should not limit myself to the little I have done in a cause in which I feel the warmest sympathy. To supply the want of a larger

contribution, I shall pray with fervour to the Almighty, beseeching Him to look with mercy on His people, to remove the scourge that afflicts them, and to give peace, happiness, and abundance to the country."

The Pope also sent a rosary to England, with an autograph letter, to be appropriated to the benefit of the starving Irish. The rosary was composed of eleven agate beads, set in gold, with the head of our Saviour engraved on cornelian, pendant from a small gold tassel at one end—to the other was attached a ring to suspend it from the finger when in prayer. The letter of the Pope was addressed to his sister-in-law, the Countess Mastai, and was as follows:—

" Beloved sister-in-law,

" To the Sienese lady who has communicated to you her praiseworthy intention of affording some relief to the poor Irish, suffering from the scourge of famine, you may send the enclosed rosary, accom-

panied by our full and general blessing to all who are occupied in, or who contribute to, this pious labour,

“ The peace of the Lord be with you and all your family.

“ Pius P.P. IX., Pope.”

The cardinals also, in imitation of their sovereign, gave their assistance to this praiseworthy and charitable work, as well by pecuniary aid as by their appeals to the benevolent feelings of the Roman people.

As a temporal Prince, the Pope took immediate precautions against being surprised by a similar calamity, and he adopted measures which proved extremely useful to the Roman people. Having long desired to put an end to vagrancy and mendicity which, although not original to the Roman States, were spreading themselves over the whole surface of the Ecclesiastical provinces, he ordered the instant establishment of depots of mendicity after the model of those which were instituted in France by Colbert. Mendicity had been proscribed in the ecclesias-

tical states at various periods. Pius V. in 1566 forbad begging in churches; Gregory XIV. in 1572, also interdicted vagrancy throughout the whole estates of the church. After him Sixtus V. passed very severe laws against able-bodied mendicants. Innocent XII. renewed the decrees of his predecessors in a bull of the 20th May, 1693, after the example of Victor, King of Sardinia, who completed the laws of Charles Emanuel, by the establishment of charitable institutions in all the principal towns of his kingdom, and by the foundation of general hospitals, destined to give work to the able-bodied pauper, together with an asylum and moral instruction to the paupers in general. By degrees the wise measures adopted at Rome were discontinued, and fell into disuetude in consequence of the political revolutions of Italy. In 1798 at the moment of the suppression of the religious orders, the number of paupers in Rome amounted to more than 30,000 out of a popu-

lation of 147,000, or rather over one-fifth of the whole; but in 1814 the public succour was awarded to 5,000 individuals in the hospitals, and to 10,000 at their own homes. In 1810 the home administration gave employment to able-bodied paupers in the shops of the workhouses; and two years previously, mendicity was expressly forbidden, not only in Italy, but throughout the whole French territory, by a decree of the 5th July, 1808, passed at Paris. When the French administration quitted Italy, begging became the paupers' only resource. At Rome, thanks to the innumerable institutions of charity, this city, which passes for the very focus of mendicity, is nevertheless far from maintaining so many idle paupers as many cities renowned for their opulence and the strictness of their police;—in fact there are scarcely any parts of Europe more infested with beggars than the principal cities of France.

Pius IX. completed the reforms he had

adopted by sending all foreign paupers back to their own country, in consequence of which many waggons, filled with these unfortunate people, were driven towards the frontiers of Naples, as three-fourths of the beggars who infested the streets of Rome, came from the Neapolitan States to carry on their trade upon the charity of the Romans, and the number of lame, wooden-legged, and maimed, who arrived each winter in Rome, to exhibit their infirmities, and speculate upon the weakness of humanity, can scarcely be imagined. The stratagems, too, of the Continental beggars almost baffle credibility. In certain capitals, particularly at Munich, at the commencement of this century, crowds of beggars absolutely infested all the streets, passages, and public places, and they made no scruple of stealing everything upon which they could lay their hands, even in the churches, which were generally filled with them; and in order to render their infamous calling more profitable, and put

down all opposition on the part of their fellow-mendicants, they not only stole young children, but positively put out their eyes, and maimed them in the most barbarous manner, in order to expose them to the public to excite compassion. Many of these unnatural monsters stripped their own offspring, and nearly starved them to death, that they might the more readily obtain the pity of the passers by. Independently of the charitable institutions in Rome, where the poor are received as living members of Christ, and not as members useless to the State (according to the definition given of them by Colbert,) Pius IX. has diminished the duty upon salt—an impost whose nature and influence have met with the most deserved censure on the part of political economists, as it presses the most heavily upon the working classes and agriculture. There never was a tax more unequally distributed, and consequently, more unpopular. The poor man consumes more salt than the rich ; the labourer and his family

paid for it as an article of the first necessity, fifteen times more than its real value, by reason of the wicked, as well as the absurd duty imposed upon it. The diminution of this duty will be of great importance to Italy, in an agricultural point of view, as more salt will be given to the cattle, and it will also be largely used for manure. The importance of encouraging the best system of cultivation induced the formation of an agricultural society at Rome, under the presidency of the Cardinal Massimo. The project was no sooner broached than the Pope, anxious to prove the deep interest he felt in all that related to so important a branch of the national resources, declared himself the protector of the society. The plan of this excellent institution was drawn up by the learned Abbate Coppi, whose works upon agriculture and the *Campagna di Roma* have acquired deserved celebrity. Much is still to be effected in Rome; but thanks to the quickness and intelligence of the people, and

the excellent examples which the progress of neighbouring nations offer to their consideration, by the improvements in agriculture which have taken place in France, England, and Germany, and the colossal nature of their manufacturing and commercial enterprises, Italy may soon rise in the scale of nations, under the confident expectation of an honourable and lasting independence. The re-establishment, at this period, of the celebrated Academy of the Lincei in the Capital, by the united efforts of the Prime Minister, Cardinal Gizzi, and the Cardinals, Mezzofanti and Riario, was hailed with general satisfaction. The profound tranquillity which reigns in a State, the content which appears on every side, and the popularity of the government, which is spread and fortified as public credit founds itself upon a solid basis, are the best tests of the wise and liberal mind, which directs the movements of society. When a whole

people hope for happiness, and prosperity, they are not far from accomplishing it.

The retrogressive party, at their last gasp, endeavoured to raise their heads, but their efforts were rendered more and more powerless and insignificant every day. The Cardinal Legates, and the episcopal delegates, lately created, strong in the cause, and their own good intentions, seconded also by all those whom the Amnesty had rendered to their families, repressed all attempts at revolt or disorder. The army, too, was more devoted than ever, and in the highest spirits, in consequence of the assurance which had been conveyed to them, that the Pope had resolved to abolish the purchase of Commissions, leaving future promotion to the legitimate claims of merit. As may be conceived, this announcement produced a 'spirit of emulation of the deepest importance to the discipline of the army. Again, the people as well as the Ro-

man army, were looking forward with satisfaction to the promised reduction of the Swiss guard; and the Sovereign was not the less desirous to effect so important an object. He knew from the bottom of his heart how deeply wounding it was to the pride of his people, to see foreign soldiers occupying their native soil, notwithstanding the exemplary conduct of the Swiss mercenaries, and he had made up his mind to their immediate reduction and ultimate abolition; but as the contract, which the Roman Government had renewed with the Swiss troops, had still some years to run, Pius IX. could only avail himself of a clause in the contract, which stipulated that all the Swiss soldiers, enrolled under the ecclesiastical banner, should profess the Roman Catholic religion. This would enable him to make a considerable reduction in the army by the discharge of the Swiss Protestants, and a consequent diminution of the public expenditure, which was the principal object he had in view, coupled, however,

with a desire to evince the confidence he had in the fidelity and affection of his people, and not any bigotted prejudice upon the grounds of religious differences. These innovations upon old-established usages, and the bold and fearless, yet calm and dignified manner in which, as the independent sovereign of the Roman States, Pius IX. proceeded to display his political dispositions, greatly alarmed the Court of Austria, particularly as nearly all the Princes of the Italian peninsula seemed disposed to lend themselves to views which appeared indicative of a pacific revolution; and to participate in the honor and glory of those ameliorations which inspired their people with sentiments of joy and gratitude for the present, and animated them with so much hope for the future happiness and prosperity of Italy.

An unexpected event which occurred at this time brought the Austrain Ambassador again into the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Among the papers seized on a refugee, impli-

cated in a conspiracy discovered at Ancona, were several documents showing that Austria was intriguing against the Pope's Government. Those papers having been forwarded to Rome, Cardinal Gizzi, the Secretary of State, immediately addressed a note to the Austrian Ambassador, apprising him of the fact, and demanding an explanation. The latter having contented himself with merely acknowledging the receipt of the note, the Cardinal wrote him a second, which also remained without a reply. The Pope, indignant at his conduct, sent for the Ambassador, who hastened to wait on his Holiness. Their interview was said to have been very animated, and when the Pope conducted the Ambassador to the door, he told him, in the presence of the attendants—"I give you my blessing; but you may write to your Sovereign, that if he expect to intimidate me, he is greatly mistaken."

Mgr. Grassellini, the new Governor of Rome, who entered upon his high functions on the

26th December, 1846, as successor to the Cardinal Marini, commenced his administration by putting into operation the old and severe laws against the use of the knife or stiletto—a practice generally resorted to in all the quarrels of the people, and from which fatal results were of such frequent occurrence, although not regarded by the Italians with that gravity and horror which assassination inspires in all other parts of Europe. The Emperor Napoleon, who well knew the character of the Italian people, the near neighbours of Corsica, where the horrible *Vendetta*, that stain upon humanity and civilization, still exists in all its force—ordered that criminals of this nature should suffer the extreme penalty of the law in every case, and a very few examples sufficed to put a check to this atrocious evil.

Between the period when the French quitted Italy, and the reign of Pius IX., and even during the first months of his government, nothing was more common than the use of the

knife in the affrays of the lower orders, many of whom were condemned to the galleys; and the inhabitants in going home at night, or quitting their houses early in the morning, frequently stumbled over the dead bodies of the wretched victims of a tap-room quarrel, which would have ended, in England, with nothing more formidable than a bloody nose or a black eye. A frightful scene of this kind occurred at Leghorn about this period. A woman was found lying near the synagogue in that city, stabbed in several parts of her body, with a stiletto. When asked if she knew the person of the assassin, she replied in the affirmative.

“Yes,” she said; “I know him.”

“Who is he, and what is his name?” said her interrogator.

“The Grand Duke,” was her reply, and she immediately expired.

Upon seeking an explanation of this heavy charge against the reigning sovereign of Tuscany,

it appeared that the poor woman had merely indulged in a just reflection upon the false and mistaken principles of mercy and humanity which actuated the criminal policy of his government, and that in charging the Grand Duke as her assassin, she meant to express that although the act was committed by a stranger, the moral crime lay at the door of the prince, who deprived his subjects of the only protection against murder which the fear of a speedy death and retributive justice held out to the ignorant and the depraved.

The Grand Duke had abolished capital punishments, and in lieu thereof, endeavoured to appease the vengeance of the laws, by clothing the criminals in comfortable habits, and making them sweep the streets, with the nature of their crime, as *Omicidio Volontario*, inscribed upon their backs. Such a punishment cannot be commensurate to the awful crime of murder, and the levity of the prisoners, their unceasing and importunate demands for

money or tobacco, of the passers-by, and even of the inhabitants at their windows, tend only to create disgust, and the conviction that too much humanity is, as Pius IX. observed to the Spanish Ambassador, "neither merciful to man, nor respectful to God." Had the Grand Duke left the imperial law in operation, the forfeited lives of four murderers would have saved forty innocent members of society from barbarous assassination.

Lately, at Rome, a drunken Transteverino, having quarrelled with one of the orange sellers in the Ripetta, plunged his knife into his heart, and the victim fell at the feet of his assassin. A priest and a soldier happened to be passing the scene of crime, at the very moment. The former instantly offered the consolations of religion to the dying man, and had time to confess him before he expired; the soldier was also fortunate enough to perform his duty by apprehending the murderer and conveying him to prison, to the perfect astonish-

ment of the people, who demanded why their comrade should be punished since the orange-seller had had the luck to be confessed.

This anecdote is alone sufficient to prove how lightly the crime of murder is regarded by the lower orders, and how much the offices of religion are supposed by them to be superior to all accidents. Such sentiments may prove a good basis upon which to establish the solid foundation of religion, but they are not in themselves religion, and the lower orders of Rome, as well as those of Ireland, have much to learn before even the doctrines of Christianity can be truly associated with the consequences of the religion they so wildly profess. In fact, a prayer before a Madonna, a declaration of repentance before a crucifix, a sign of the cross, or absolution, effaces for ever from the memories of the lower orders of Italy, Spain, or Ireland, even the recollection of the crimes they have committed. A young author of considerable talent recounts the following anecdote, which

he heard from one of the parties concerned, just before a recent return from Italy. A Parisian tourist was exploring the *Campagna di Roma*, in order to glean impressions of travel, accompanied by an English gentleman, who, one day, as they were trudging along, made this singular observation, almost in the language of complaint: "We shall not meet even the ghost of a brigand! we stand no chance of being robbed, pillaged or assassinated! there is no longer any poetry in Italy, since Pius IX. has rendered travelling secure!" "Do not be impatient," replied the Parisian, "we are not yet back in Rome, and your wishes may be gratified sooner than you imagine or desire!"

Before a week passed over their heads, six armed brigands rushed upon them in one of the narrow passes of the mountains. Our travellers, brave and determined, put themselves upon the defensive; but they had little chance of opposing a successful resistance to such overpowering force.

"They are three to one," said the Englishman; "but we can only die at last."

And his companion would, no doubt, have joined him in this unequal combat, if he had not possessed more coolness and knowledge of the people, he had to deal with, whose six poniards were now pointed at their breasts.

"In the name of Christ," said the Frenchman, "don't kill me, or you will send my soul to the *Casa del Diavolo*, for I am in a state of mortal sin."

"That makes a difference," said the brigands, lowering the points of their stilettos. "Go, and purify yourself, and may the *Buon Dio* preserve you in His holy grace, and keep you from ever falling again into our hands."

Upon his return to Rome, the Parisian tourist was seized with the fever, so prevalent in the Eternal City, at certain periods, arising from the Malaria of the Pontine marshes, and he was, at his own request, removed to the public hospital.

The Pope had greatly improved the management of these charitable asylums, although much is still required to perfect them. One night, a person who had the appearance of a layman, ranging the halls of this asylum, dedicated to suffering humanity, stopped before the bed of a patient who was at the point of death. The sufferer was a poor French artist, who had exerted himself in vain in demanding the attendance of a minister of religion. The chaplain of the hospital was nowhere to be found. The stranger drew back the curtains of the dying man's bed, and said,

“Speak, my son, I am a priest, and it is God who, doubtless, sent me here at this hour, to console and bless you.”

The dying man confessed, received absolution, and immediately afterwards expired in the arms of Pius IX., who had visited incognito, and quite unexpectedly, the wards of the hospital, in the still hour of the night, in order to assure himself of that attention to the

wants of the inmates which their sufferings demanded, and which it was the object of the institution to afford them.

On the following morning, the hospital chaplain appeared at the palace of the Quirinal, before his sovereign, and received his dismissal from office, accompanied by a severe reprimand.

Pius IX. has surpassed Titus, for not only does he not permit a single day to pass without doing a good action, but he even consecrates the nights to works of charity.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ancient policy of Rome...Changes and effects—Emperor of Russia—Protestant England and Pius IX.—Ambassadors of France and Austria—Courts of Spain and Portugal—Arrival of the Turkish Ambassador at Rome—his presentation and address—the Pope's reply—Dinner to Chekib Effendi and singular speech of the Count Mastai, the Pope's brother—Turkish magnificence and priestly poverty—Beautiful address of Pius IX. to the Ambassador of the Ottoman Porte—Sir Robert Peel, the *Times*, and the Pope—The Carnival and the Austrian and French Ambassadors—Terni and Narni—the influence of morality—The bouquet...The Englishman and the Pope's medallion.

IN entering upon the path of popular reforms, Pius IX. snatched Rome from the isolation in which the development of the rights of man in other countries had plunged her—a development to which she had remained a stranger, and against which

she had always protested. Thus Rome, perishing and stifled by this astounding growth of ideas, sentiments, principles and liberties—Rome, which scarcely penetrated through the darkness and ruins of the past, whose glory was eclipsed and almost condemned as a problem, now rises at the voice of a man, who more enlightened than ambitious, and as capable as he is just, has converted the chair of St. Peter into a tribune of humanity. Hence the general concurrence of opinions in favour of Pius IX., and the joyful anticipation of all nations of the regeneration of Italy, which proves beyond all reasoning, that eternal truth is to be found in the liberties of the people.

The Pope having descended from the summit of exclusive dogma, was tired of vainly seeking humanity in religion, and now seeks religion in humanity; and as at present the question is, not as to the manner in which the Creator is adored, so much as how He is served in the respect and honour of His creatures, the

people, who know that God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," applaud in unison, the workman who comprehends this grand achievement.

After having seen the Emperor of Russia, the representative of ancient despotism, personally approach the chief of the Roman Church, we hail with satisfaction the dissipation of prejudices, and the speedy prospect of the re-establishment of diplomatic and friendly relations between Protestant England and Pius IX.

By the side of these significant facts, and of the expected increase in the diplomatic body at the congress of observation established at Rome, which must be considered as a great advance towards the accommodation of differences which agitate, fatigue, and harass the human mind ; the Roman people throw stones at the windows of the Count de Lutzw, hiss the ambassador of Louis Philippe, and refuse to hold any communication with the courts of Spain and Portugal, so that the apostolical

Emperor of Austria, the most christian king of the French, and the catholic queens of Spain and Portugal, are, if not rejected, at least badly received at Rome ; while their majesties of England and Greece—Lutherans, Evangelists, Jews and Mahometans—everywhere obtain the most flattering reception from the Pope and his people. Is there not, at the bottom of all this, a secret and instinctive want of concession, of liberty, and independence ? Yet these concessions can only be obtained when all the various and conflicting interests are well defined, and that definition can only be made when the constitution is conceived in a liberal spirit, and based upon the principles of progressive enlightenment.

Thus, should the Pope overcome the antiquated pretensions of exclusiveness, which are, and still will be discussed around him ; should he finally cause the fundamental maxims of christianity, which he is supposed to represent, gloriously to triumph in amalgamating all the

heterogeneous elements which divide the unity of the great human family, in systematic and disordered bodies, Rome will become truly the heart of that world of which she has heretofore claimed to be the head. The time is, perhaps, near at hand when the people may incline to the belief that the hour of universal reconciliation has sounded from the clock of ages.*

In the month of February, an event took place without precedent in the history of Rome, or since the creation of the Ottoman empire. This was the arrival of an Ambassador from the Sultan of the Turks to compliment the Pope upon his accession to the Pontifical throne.

In the 15th century, under the reign of Innocent VIII., who pretended to free the East from the tyranny of the Infidels, but who died without witnessing the issue of his hopes, Mahomet II. sent his son Zizim as an embassy

* Vol. I. page 28.

to Rome. It was then a singular event as it is now ; but under Mahomet II. it was altogether connected with the policy of the Levant and the enterprises of the Turks. Innocent assembled a consistory to receive Zizim. The information they offered to this Prince, concerning the ceremonials to be observed at the audience, and the respect rendered to their great Pontiff by all Christian monarchs, was perfectly useless ; he had not the most distant idea of kneeling before the Pope, the pride of the Mussulman's blood rejected all desired ceremonies, and he traversed the halls of the palace without even bowing, with his head covered with the turban, which the Turks never remove, as it is a symbol of their religion. He mounted the throne upon which Innocent was sitting, kissed his right shoulder in sign of friendship, more than out of respect, and repeated this singular embrace to each of the Cardinals.

In the 19th century, the mission confided

to his Excellency Chekib Effendi had this singularity — that the envoy of the Sublime Porte inclined before Pius IX. at the Quirinal ; while in the 15th century the crescent was raised upon an equal elevation with the cross ; finally, it was not a service which the Emperor demanded of the Pope—on the contrary, he came to participate in the general movement of hope and happiness, inspired by the auspicious dawning of a new reign, commenced by a great and enlightened Prince.

On the morning of the 16th of February, 1847, S. E. Chekib Effendi went to the office of the Secretary of State to present his credentials, and beg the Cardinal Gizzi to fix the day for his reception by the Pope. Saturday, the 20th, having been named for that purpose, the Ambassador proceeded to the palace of the Quirinal in grand ceremony, accompanied by all his secretaries. Immense crowds assembled in the streets and all the public places to witness this novel spectacle. The Swiss

guards were drawn up before the principal gate of the palace, at which, as Chekib Effendi entered, the band struck up a military air. After having traversed the splendid apartments of the Quirinal, in the midst of his brilliant *cortége*, the Ambassador of the Sultan was introduced into the presence of Pius IX., who was seated on his throne. The representative of the Sublime Porte approached with marks of the most profound respect, his arms crossed upon his breast in the Oriental fashion, and made a salutation at each step. The Sovereign Pontiff begged him to take his place in the arm chair which had been prepared for him, when the interpreter of the Ottoman Court spoke as follows:—

“Most Holy Father,---

“His serene Majesty the Sultan, Abdal Medgid, my august master, has learnt with the greatest satisfaction the happy accession of your Holiness to the throne of the Roman Catholic world. Although up to this period, no special relations have ever ex-

isted between the Sovereign Pontiff and the government of the Sublime Porte, I have been sent to express my Sovereign's sincere and hearty felicitations upon the event, in which object my master only cedes to his ardent desire to prove how much he associates himself with the universal satisfaction which the event has inspired. It is the first time that he has had the agreeable occasion of entering into direct relation with the Government of the Holy See ; and it is one of the blessings of our age, which is that of civilization and humanity ; but it will also be a striking and brilliant testimony to the virtues and benevolent opinions which characterise my Sovereign and your Holiness, who I am sure will be the first to appreciate the generous sentiments of my august master, who showers his favours upon all classes of his subjects, the same in his eyes, as are all children in the eyes of a father who loves them equally. By such conduct he is sure to have gained the friendship and esteem of your Holiness. As to myself, nothing can equal the honour I feel in having been charged with this noble mission, unless it be the happiness of having gained the good opinion of your Holiness."

Pius IX. replied to the Ambassador in the most gracious terms, which were interpreted

by Cardinal Mezzofanti, one of the most celebrated linguists of the age, as follows :—

“ Make known to your Sovereign that I receive with the most lively sense of gratitude the sentiments of real friendship which your Excellency has expressed to me in his name. My paternal heart anticipates the greatest benefits from the amicable relations which the Sublime Porte desires to establish with the Holy Seē, for the advantage of the Catholics of the East ; and nothing can be more agreeable to me than to receive the assurance in the name of the Sultan of the Turks. The more the condition of my distant children is ameliorated, the greater will be my gratitude, and the more precious will be the relations which are about to be established between our two Governments.”

During his sojourn at Rome, Chekib Effendī was the constant object of attention on the part of the Pope's family. At a dinner given to him by the Count Mastai, the brother of Pius IX., in honour of the occasion, the host proposed the health of the Sultan, adding to the toast, that the real danger to the Roman

Catholic religion was not from those who had possession of Constantinople, but from those who coveted it.

Before Chekib Effendi quitted Rome, he gave proofs of Turkish magnificence by the splendid presents he offered on the part of his master to the Pontifical Court; and in exchange, Pius IX. presented him with his portrait, which he accompanied with the following beautiful address :—

“ I wish I could, in return, offer you presents worthy your acceptance; but as the successor of the Apostles, the King of Rome is but a poor Sovereign. His religion forbids him to aspire to the riches of the earth—it is in Heaven only that he must seek the treasures of his ambition. I possess but one soul with which to love, but that soul is full of affection for all mankind; I have but one hand with which to bless; but it is full of benediction; but one heart for prayer, but that heart, until it ceases to beat, will pray to God to return to you in happiness

and joy, all the consolation and hope which you have afforded me. Accept this portrait, a feeble homage of my gratitude—regard it sometimes in recollection of your friend and father, who loves and blesses you.”

This touching, simple, and beautiful address of the chief of the Roman Church, the successor of St. Peter, to the representative of the successor of Mahomet, and his beautiful allusion to priestly poverty, forces us to regard the character of Pius IX. in the most favourable light. The entire absence of that bigotry of sentiment, and that ecclesiastical despotism of thought as well as action, which mark the characters of the best of his predecessors, cannot fail to raise him greatly in our estimation, while such truly Christian sentiments as he expresses, offer the noblest and most approved guarantee that he labours truly for the emancipation of the world, and for the extension of the just liberties of mankind. The consequences of this friendly alliance will be the

establishment of a Roman Consulate in the ancient capital of the Roman Emperors, which may be followed by a Nuncio to represent the Holy See at Constantinople. We know not whether Austria will rejoice at this prospect ; no doubt she lent a hand to destroy the influence of France in the East, but we are inclined to believe that the establishment of amicable relations between the Ottoman Court and the Court of Rome is less political than humane, and that it owes its origin to the spread of intelligence, and the force of liberal policy, which is gaining ground throughout the world, to the dissipation of prejudice, the abjuring of secular hates, and the general dissemination of the principles of humanity and justice.

We are writing the history of Pius IX. not of the Popes, and cannot suffer ourselves to be deterred from expressing our conscientious opinions upon the merit of this illustrious person, by reason of any unfounded assertions, or unworthy insinuations, as to the objects we

have in view ; for we proclaim boldly and publicly, that our sole aim is to develop the actions and character of a great man, who has already, in the short space of a few months, achieved more for mankind than all the warriors of antiquity, whose name, as the first cause of liberty and happiness to millions, will hereafter stand foremost in the category of human benefactors. But if, after the proofs we have adduced of the greatness of Pius IX., of the real grandeur of his soul, we are chargeable with excessive adulation, we may shield ourselves under cover of the mightiest engine of a mighty press, which, taking up the opinions of one of England's greatest statesmen and legislators, thus delivers itself :—

“ It is seldom that a tribute has been paid in the British Parliament to any foreign potentate which has been more cordially and respectfully responded to by the House, than the remark made the other night by Sir R. Peel on the character and policy of Pope Pius IX. It cannot be a matter of indifference

or mere speculation to the people of this country whether the Prince who governs the most renowned city in the world, and whose states extend from Ancona to the opposite shores of Italy, is an enlightened, clement, and patriotic ruler, uniting all classes of the population in the bonds of social order by the respect they entertain for his personal virtues, and the hopes they have conceived of his pulic administration; or whether the Sovereign of the Papal States allows despotism, corruption, and bigotry to crush and depopulate some of the fairest provinces of Europe, resisting every suggestion of humanity and civilization, and only protecting the decrepitude of his power from utter ruin by mercenary troops and by foreign intervention. As an ordinary question of foreign policy, the existence of a good Government in the Papal States is a matter of no less interest to the political, maritime, and commercial relations of this country, than the maintenance of our relations with Spain, or the independence of Greece. But these considerations are greatly heightened in their force and tendency when we recal to mind the fact that this sovereign of an Italian principality is likewise the spiritual head recognised by at least 8,000,000 of our fellow subjects---that the policy of the Romish Church in Ireland, in the colonies, and, indeed, in this island, must be materially affected by the sense and temper of the reigning Pontiff, and that although the British Government is

not more bound to recognise the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters than that of the Wesleyan Committee of Privileges, or the Chief Pundit of Benares, he is entitled to precisely the same respect they enjoy as the governors of the religious bodies to which they belong. Occupying, therefore, a position which the keenest adversaries of the Papacy cannot deny, it is a matter of great interest to the world at large, and to every state in which the Roman Catholic Faith is professed at all, that the councils of the Vatican should be governed by a spirit of true piety, moderation and enlightenment ; and that they should be supported, if necessary, against the stratagems and assaults of bigotry and despotism. The support to be given by this country to any Pontiff is circumscribed within narrow limits ; but nothing, save the fiercest intolerance and the most vulgar prejudices, can deny him the respect and the sympathy due to an honest prince and a worthy man.

It is a remarkable coincidence that at the very time when these sentiments have been very generally excited in this country by Pius IX., and when Parliament itself has listened with applause to his panegyric, the two great powers of Europe most habitually and directly interested in the affairs of Italy and of Rome, should have given signs of a very different disposition towards the new Pontiff. The opposition of Austria has been constant and intense from the

moment of his election. The spectacle of an Italian Prince, relying for the maintenance of his power on the affectionate regard and the national sympathies of his people—the resolution of the Pope to pursue a course of moderate reform, to encourage railroads, to emancipate the press, to admit laymen into offices in the State, and to purify the law, but, above all, the dignified independence of action manifested by the Court of Rome, have filled the Austrians with exasperation and apprehension. There is not the least doubt that the cabinet of Vienna is eager to grasp at the slightest pretext for an armed intervention south of the Po. If such a pretext do not occur, it is but too probable that it may be created ; and any disturbances calculated to lead to such a result would at once betray their insidious origin. Meanwhile the Pope is menaced in Austrian notes, which have sometimes transgressed the limits of policy and decorum ; and the minor Princes of Italy are terrified by extravagant intimations of hostile designs entertained against them by the national party, headed by the Pope and the house of Savoy, in order to persuade them that their only safeguard is the Austrian army. These intrigues may be thought necessary to the defence of the tottering power of Austria south of the Alps, for every step made in advance by Italy, is a step towards the emancipation of the country. But the motives of the conduct of France are more problematical and inconsistent. She contributed

to raise Pius IX. to the throne. Her policy in Italy is still identified with many of the best men and the best hopes of the Liberal party in that country. Her struggle with the empire for the supremacy of Italy fills pages of her most glorious annals. Nevertheless, we have irresistible evidence, that tacitly, furtively, and most pitifully, France has withdrawn her active support from the National and Liberal party in Italy. The French Ambassador may still parade the Corso amidst the acclamations of the Roman populace: but he has no decided counsels for the Cabinet of the Vatican, and no effective assurances to give even to those whom he contributed to place there.

These facts corroborate the subserviency of the French Government to the policy of the absolutist Powers. She replenishes her coffers with Russian gold; she averted her eyes from the impending fate of Cracow. The past sufferings of Poland and the future hopes of Italy are buried in the same politic oblivion. To secure her triumph in Spain, every other cause may with impunity be abandoned.

Austria has thus obtained the neutrality of France in Italy, and France has obtained in exchange the neutrality of Austria in Spain. It remains to be seen whether the terms of this compact will be adhered to under all the circumstances which may arise in either peninsula. Is an Austrian army to cross the Po without another Ancona? Is a French Prince to approach the throne of Charles V, and Philip II, without a protest from the family which once

governed the Spanish monarchy? These are questions which time will solve.

But, whatever views the great Catholic Powers may entertain with reference to the policy of the Pope, there can be no doubt that his political situation claims the support of England. What but independence of action and wise Government is needed to make Italy and the Italian people foremost among the southern states of Europe? They have received with enthusiasm the great English Apostle of free trade. Their territory is equally suited to maritime commerce and maritime defence, and ere many years have elapsed a continuous line of railway will restore to them the principal line of traffic with the east. Situated as Italy is, the free development of her natural resources and the extension of her influence in the Mediterranean are commercial and political interests of primary importance to this country. And if other powers have shown themselves unscrupulous enemies, or cold friends, we hope the British Government will not neglect the cause which Austria and France are disposed to sacrifice to baser considerations. The time is come when the presence of an efficient representative of this country at the Court of Rome is indispensable to the maintenance of great public interests in that quarter; and since even the Grand Seignior, the head of the Mussulman Faith, has not scrupled to send a Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican, and that we ourselves recognise every other form of religion on the face of the

globe, we trust that England will not allow an obsolete prejudice, shared by no other Protestant Power, to leave her without a representative at the Court of a Pontiff whose personal character she respects, and whose political independence she ought to uphold."

Thus spoke the Times—thus we feel; and notwithstanding the suspicions which the enemies of change and innovation have presumed to throw out as to the sincerity of the Sovereign Pontiff, notwithstanding the momentary doubts of certain political alarmists as to the power of the Pope to carry out his liberal policy and maintain his position against the overwhelming influence of surrounding nations—where, we ask, has he been found wanting?

During the Carnival at Rome the French and Austrian Ambassadors, according to an old custom, have the privilege for one day only, fixed upon by each, to traverse the Corso in their state equipages after gun-fire, which is the signal for the retraite in Rome, instead of

the insipid but noisy drumming which takes place every evening in French towns. The cortége of the Austrian Ambassador traversed this magnificent street in the midst of a most profound silence; not one salutation of respect or welcome—not a single cheer met his ear. This was a severe lesson for the diplomatists of Vienna, and at the same time a very significant manifestation of public opinion. The Count de Lutzw returned, ill at ease, and in some consternation, to his hotel, in the midst of perfect darkness, for the people had withdrawn the illuminations, had put out all the flambeaus, and even extinguished every torch throughout his passage. On the following day the French Ambassador obtained a sort of triumph, by comparison, with the previous dark and silent reception of his colleague of Vienna.

What is this Prince who thus exercises such a marvellous influence over men, cities and nations? Simply a priest, full of honor, good sense, loyalty and charity, who well understands

the age in which he lives, and in which it has pleased Providence to place him on the throne. It cannot be denied that he sets the brightest example to all sovereigns, who, when not animated by the same intentions, are unworthy to occupy the first places at the head of the different people; for with war we divide—with peace—we re-unite.

• We are not astonished, under such circumstances, to see the citizens, divided by long standing hatreds, fraternise at the name of Pius IX., the nations most completely separated by their religious prejudices, represented by their ambassadors, and hostile cities like Terni and Narni, strong in the recollection of feudal hate, led to conciliation and union by the same power and sympathy.

These cities in the pontifical states were divided for centuries by the deepest hatred which was fomented by the ministers who for their own ends encouraged the municipal authorities in keeping up division and disunion. One

day the inhabitants of Terni, preceded by two bands of music, and twenty priests, one of whom bore the pontifical banner, in sign of concord, arrived unexpectedly at the gates of Narni, waving the flag, and crying out, "Peace and love to the inhabitants of Narni, in the name of Pius IX." At this announcement all the people of Narni came forth, and, in the same spirit of conciliation, shook hands, and embraced their fellow subjects with the most sincere protestations of future friendship. This affecting scene, which occurred at sunset, was rendered more inspiring by the thousand torches which converted the re-union of the inhabitants of the two cities into a brilliant illumination. The united people then paraded the public streets and places, and ended the joyful event by an immense banquet at which the Bishops and Clergy took part, and received the renewal of their protestations of eternal friendship.

Pius IX., in accordance with a custom which

prevailed with his predecessors, is in the habit of attending the Vatican Church every Friday, upon the subject of indulgences. As he was passing from the Quirinal to the Vatican, a young man approached the carriage, and presented him an enormous bouquet of natural flowers, tied with yellow and white ribbands. The Pope accepted the gift with kindness, smelt the perfume of the flowers, returned the bouquet to the young man, and desired him to place it on the pedestal of the statue of St. Peter.

On his way to execute the Pope's commission the young man met an English gentleman, who offered him ten pounds for the bouquet, which was instantly refused. This fact coming to the knowledge of the good Pontiff, he requested the presence of the stranger, and solicited his reason for desiring to possess the bouquet. The gentleman replied that his only object was to possess a memento of a sovereign whose actions had inspired him with so much veneration and respect. The Pope begged him to accept a

medallion bearing his effigy, and dismissed him with his blessing, notwithstanding the gentleman's declaration of his Protestant sentiments.

CHAPTER IX.

Progress of instruction at Rome---Foundation of popular schools---A mysterious visit--Dialogue between the Pope and a young applicant---An imposter at the Quirinal---The contemplated suicide---A political conspiracy in a convent---The Pope and the Cardinal---Napoleon and the Princess of Hartzfeld---The black ball and the white cap---The Pope's bust---Pius IX. and the musician---The Prince Archbishop of Breslau and the Prince of Hartzfeld---Reform of sacred music.

THE Sovereign Pontiff marches onwards in his noble course, without fear, without delay, to the accomplishment of the grand objects he has proposed for the interest of his people. Already, since the Amnesty, the spirit of liberty, of which he is the principle, has leapt over the

boundaries of the Roman States and spread itself everywhere through the Italian peninsula. In Tuscany, at Turin, at Naples, and in every duchy, progressive ideas gain ground, and liberty is prepared to receive a generous homage from certain sovereigns, and the noblest reception and respect from all people. At Rome the Pope creates fresh commissioners daily, who devote their assiduous attention to the pleasing duties which devolve upon them. The Commission charged to report upon a new system of municipal organisation, of which Cardinal Altieri is president, has already made considerable progress and holds its meetings weekly. The Governor of Rome, following the impulse given by the opinions which dominate at the Quirinal, has finished his general inspection of the prisons, and has reported upon a system of amelioration of prison discipline. Evening schools, the beneficent invention of a humane genius, has already effected important results in reference to the poorer classes of Rome.

Everything attests an earnest solicitude on the part of Pius IX. to improve the condition of the poor. He has also, in conjunction with Cardinal Gizzi, formed a central school for the youth of the working classes. This idea which has passed almost unobserved in the midst of political agitation, is nevertheless one of those which does the greatest honour to the Pope and his government. In this school the young men are taught a trade, or instructed in military manœuvres, and they receive at the same time a moral and religious education. Such a method possesses the double advantage of procuring good workmen and efficient soldiers, and especially competent officers. Pius IX., like all great men who desire to regenerate their country, has a predilection for the moral and religious instruction of his people. The new schools are directed by priests who give gratuitous instruction to the working classes after the labours of the day.

The Pope, accompanied by one of his private

chamberlains, and in strict incognito, frequently visits the schools of each quarter of the City. In one of these excursions the Pope presided at the distribution of prizes, he interrogated the young pupils, and in proof of the satisfaction he derived from their progress, he added a handsome present to the ordinary prize. Before he retired, he addressed a most paternal exhortation to the scholars, encouraging them to live contentedly in the situation in which Providence had placed them, and to sanctify their state by their faithful adherence to the practical duties of Christianity. He then complimented the zeal of their masters, and distributed medals to the most deserving.

Pius IX. on another occasion, accompanied by one of his chamberlains, visited on the evening of the 9th. March 1847, a school of the people in the *strada dell' Agnello*. Upon the carriage drawing up at the door some difficulty was made to the entry of the two ecclesiastics who had alighted from the vehicle. The pro-

fessors represented that the visits of strangers interrupted the due progress of their instructions, and could not fail to be displeasing to the Pope.

“Do not alarm yourself upon that point,” said the elder of the two, “far from being discontented, Pius IX. is enchanted to visit you this evening,” and in saying this he opened his cloak and displayed the white cassock of the Pontiff.

At the sight of their august visiter the joy and astonishment of professors and pupils were universal, all rose spontaneously and cheered him with cries of “Long live Pius IX.”

The Pope gave them his blessing, and seating himself in the place usually occupied by the director, congratulated his young auditors on the happiness which was about being conferred on them.

“Recollect,” said his Holiness, “that this is the most important and the most happy day in your whole life—a day in which the hand of

God delivers you from bondage, to nourish you with the bread which is not of the earth."

His Holiness then asked—

"For whom will you pray to-morrow?"

They replied with one voice—

"For your Holiness."

"Ah! yes," said Pius IX., "pray for me, that God who has been pleased to make me his Vicar in this world, may enlighten and strengthen me with His all powerful hand, and make me a worthy instrument of His glory; but pray also for your parents, for the Church, for its pastors, and above all, for those who, scattered abroad amongst the most distant countries, carry the good tidings among barbarous and infidel nations. Behold, how sweet and consoling is the state of grace and virtue in which you find yourselves to-day, purified and content! Strive to keep yourselves in that happy state, that you may enjoy peace and tranquillity on the earth, and afterwards be received into paradise, where pain or trouble

never enter. But what do I say? You already have a foretaste of paradise. In possessing the Divine favor you are in a paradise of grace, which it should be your first and constant care to maintain yourselves in, until you enter the paradise of glory."

After some more observations, not less gracious and affectionate, His Holiness retired. It may easily be comprehended what an impression is made on a devoted people by these touching scenes, in which the Head of the Church and the temporal Sovereign exhibits himself to them in the amiable light of a Bishop, almost of a simple priest.

Innumerable instances of the charitable and paternal feelings of Pius IX. are adduced on all sides, but we give the following anecdote as illustrative at the same time of the respectful familiarity which exists between the Pope and the humblest of his subjects, as well as an evidence of the pride of the Romans, even in childhood. A little boy was desirous to pre-

sent a petition to the Sovereign, in favour of his sick mother. The guards denied him entrance to the palace, and while he was lamenting the cruelty of their conduct, the Pope himself drove up, and took the petition from his hands, which was to the effect that he was too young to earn a livelihood for himself and his mother, who was ill, and that the landlord of the house they occupied had threatened to turn them into the streets, if the rent, four crowns, were not paid on the following day; and it then requested his Holiness to lend them that amount. The infantine pride of the little applicant pleased the Pope, who asked him his name and his age.

“My name is Paolo,” replied the boy, “and I am ten years old;” and in answer to further enquiries, he said his father was dead, and his mother ill, and that he lived in the *via dei carbonari*.

“Very well, my child,” said Pius IX., “come to-morrow at three o’clock, and if your

story be true, I will give you the four crowns."

"I did not ask you to give them, but only to lend them," replied the boy, "for it is our intention to return them."

The Pope made the necessary enquiries, ascertained the truth of the boy's statement, and on the following day, presented him with ten crowns.

On another day of public audience, a young man presented himself at the Quirinal, and demanded in the name of God a sum of 12 crowns for succour for his mother, who was ill, and nearly 90 years old. The Pope could not refuse such an appeal in behalf of so aged a person, and the money was immediately given. Some suspicion having arisen in his mind as to the truth of the young man's story, he was followed, and the number of his house in the *Strada dei Condotti* was ascertained. When the audience was terminated, Pius IX., protected from discovery by the darkness of the night, made his way to the young man's lodg-

ings, where he found him carousing with a party of boisterous companions, in a well furnished apartment—

“Sir,” said the Pontiff to the impostor—who threw himself at his feet, and implored pardon “you have lied to me—you are no Roman—I took you for one of the sons I love so well—I find you are an impostor—Where is your aged mother, borne down with nearly a century of years? Alas you have done worse than lie, you have added robbery to your crime, you have despoiled the deserving poor of the amount which was destined to their relief—go, sir, I might punish you, but I pardon you, in praying God that he will not be more severe to you one day than I am at present.”

At a subsequent audience, a man demanded £40 sterling to save him. “I apply,” said the applicant, “to your Holiness, to save me from impending ruin, for you are the providence of the unfortunate.” “I would,” replied Pius IX. “willingly save a man in your

position from the danger you anticipate at such a price, were it in my power, but I have not, like the Prince Torlonia, a bank full of gold. The little money at my disposal is expended each day in relieving the destitute, and, notwithstanding my desire to serve you, I cannot to-day do what you require—believe me,” he added, “to refuse is more painful to me than to grant your desires.”

“Then,” replied the applicant, “there is nothing left for me but death, and that is in my own power.”

Upon making this exclamation, Pius IX. addressed him as follows:—

“The very thought of suicide is a crime; for life, even if sad and painful, is not our own,—it belongs to God, who confided it to us; you have grieved me by your impiety, for if your life belong to God, it belongs also to me as your father, and you are doubly bound to preserve it. My family has not one child too many; the death of one of them is always a

cause of sadness to my heart, which I offer to God as a sacrifice—return to better and more christian sentiments, be a man again, and support the misfortunes with which it has pleased God to visit you with more resignation. The ills of this life are but the thorn of that eternal flower, which flourishes in Heaven.”

The wretched man threw himself at the feet of the Pope and solemnly assured him that he would never again contemplate the commission of so heinous a crime ; and Pius IX. believing his repentance sincere, ordered the amount he had requested to be given him. But here a difficulty occurred, for on opening the secretaire the whole contents amounted only to 10*L*., and Pius IX. was obliged to borrow the difference of one of his Chamberlains.

In the midst of this life of domestic charity and liberality of every description, the Pope had his mind pre-occupied by the greatest political cares. One day the police had discovered a clew to a conspiracy, concocted in the gloom

of a convent, and all the evidence relating to the affair was placed in the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff. Several great personages were implicated in the crime, and amongst others a Cardinal was discovered to be the chief of the conspiracy, by letters which left no doubt of his guilt. Pius IX. ordered him to attend at the Quirinal at 5 o'clock on the following morning. The Cardinal approached, pale and trembling, having a recollection of the celebrated expression of the Pope "If you will not have me Pius, you shall find me Sixtus."

"Fear nothing," said the Pope, conscious of his power and superiority, "I sent for you only to return you a letter, with which you should never have parted. I advise you to destroy it, that it may not fall into the hands of the Roman Government; here it is!" and he delivered back to the Cardinal the letter which constituted the sole evidence of his criminality.

This noble and magnanimous conduct of Pius IX. is almost identical with the generosity dis-

played by Bonaparte in Prussia. The Prince of Hartzfeld who had been kept by Napoleon in command at Berlin, going out one day from an audience with the Emperor, was arrested, and on the point of being conveyed before the military Commission, where he would have been inevitably condemned to death. A letter, addressed by him to General Hohenlohe, intercepted at the out-posts, left no doubt of his having given information to the enemy of the movements of the French army, notwithstanding that he pretended to occupy himself solely with the civil government of Berlin. His wife, a daughter of the Minister Schulemburg, threw herself at the feet of the Conqueror and implored his mercy—she had imagined that the arrest of her husband had been caused by the well-known hatred of her father towards France. The Emperor soon undeceived her, and made known the nature of the document, in the handwriting of her husband, which had

just been seized. The princess attributed the accusation to the calumny of his enemies.

“ You know your husband’s handwriting,” said the Emperor, “ you shall judge for yourself,” and he placed the letter in her hands.

The Princess, who was far advanced in pregnancy at the time, no sooner saw the treason of her husband than she fainted. Upon her recovery, Napoleon, softened by her grief, kindly observed to her.

“ You hold the letter in your hand—throw it in the fire ! this proof destroyed, your husband could not be condemned.”

The grateful Princess obeyed and her husband was saved.

Some days after Pius IX. had shown such an example of generosity towards a member of the Sacred College, he had occasion to convoke a Conclave, at which twenty Cardinals, known by their systematic opposition to all his projects of reform, were present—

“ Eminences,” he said to them, “ God has

inspired me with a new reform, useful to the well-being of my people, which I shall reveal to you, persuaded, that judging its utility with me, you will be desirous to adopt it."

The Cardinals of the opposition, to a man, rejected the proposition as one of a dangerous tendency—twenty black balls were found in the urn—Pius IX., nothing disconcerted, with majestic dignity, took the white cap from off his head, and placing it upon the urn, said—

· "Now, Gentlemen, they are all white, the reform is adopted."

· About this period, two fine busts of the Pope were executed at Rome, the one by a French artist, E. Thomas, the other by Tenerani, a celebrated sculptor, called the Prince of Statuaries.

The Pope thus shares his precious moments between the services of religion and the welfare of the Church, politics and the Kings of Europe, the arts and the artists, but it may be observed

that in the midst of these divisions of his time, the past, the present, and the future, there is no moment of his life which is not specially consecrated to the arduous duties of his mission.

There are two anecdotes of His Holiness, one extremely characteristic of the Pope, the other of the man. To a Swiss traveller, His Holiness concluded a conversation by expressing his wish that he could "reach the summit of the Alps, and thence preach peace and love to all—for religion is love!"

To a poor musician, who had been a fellow-student of the Pope at College, and who wrote for assistance, reminding His Holiness that he and his petitioner had played duetts upon the violin together, and that he had often undergone the correction of his now illustrious fellow-student for playing inaccurately; the Pope wrote to him, "Come to Rome; we will play duetts together again, and if practice has failed to improve you, expect the old correction."

At this period a circumstance, of a very singular character for the age in which we live, occurred in Prussia, and connected as it is with the Church which is governed by so mild and spiritual Prince, and the extreme point to which the anathema of that church was lanced against an individual for the immorality of his conduct, the anecdote cannot fail to be read with interest, although the power itself, and its political exercise, may meet with much difference of opinion. It is however as a matter of historical record that we give it insertion in these pages.

The Prince Archbishop of Breslau had fulminated the thunders of the Church against one of the German Princes. He had excommunicated the Prince of Hatzfeld de Trachembourg and de Jaschowitz, member of the Order of Nobles in the General Diet of Prussia, and one of the richest and most influential Princes in Prussia. The following are the circumstances which led to such an act of

rigour on the part of the Church so uncommon in the present century. About five years ago, Prince Germain de Hatzfeld, who is a Roman Catholic, fell in love with the Duchess of Reichembach, a married lady, and a Protestant. For some reason, of which we do not know the particulars, the Duchess of Reichembach got herself divorced. Soon afterwards, in virtue of a royal decree, abridging the delay which according to our laws must take place between the divorce and the re-marriage of any of the divorced parties, the Prince of Hatzfeld got the Lutheran pastor of Breslau to give him the marriage blessing. Thereafter the Prince of Hatzfeld was anxious to have his marriage made valid according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and for that purpose he applied to several ecclesiastics to perform the marriage ceremony, but they all refused on the ground that they were forbidden to do so by the decisions of the Council of Trent, and more especially by a brief addressed in 1843 by the

late Pope Gregory XVI. to the Bishops of Bavaria, in which the Sovereign Pontiff designates a marriage between a Catholic and a divorced Protestant as *connubium adulterinum*. The Prince of Hatzfeld, however, did not lose courage. He went to Rome—threw himself at the Pope's feet—and supplicated his Holiness to confirm his marriage with the Duchess of Reichembach. Gregory XVI. was moved, and after having received from the Prince of Hatzfeld a solemn promise that he would support the interests of the Catholic Church, his Holiness validated the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Hatzfeld, and gave orders to the Prince-Archbishop of Breslau to give them the nuptial benediction according to the rites of the Catholic Church, which was accordingly done. For some time the Prince of Hatzfeld kept his word to the Pope. He placed himself at the head of the Catholic aristocracy of the province, and he constituted himself the protector of the Clergy, who, in consequence

of his intercession, obtained in a short time great privileges and considerable immunities. In consequence of this zeal Pope Gregory XVI. conferred upon the Prince of Hatzfeld numerous decorations and other marks of distinction. After two years of marriage, the love of the Prince of Hatzfeld for his wife began gradually to cool, and this coolness increased to such a degree that at last he drove her out of his house and obtained a divorce. At the same time he formed an intimate connection with another Protestant lady, Madame de Bach, who had also the mishap to be divorced, and on the 6th of the present month of April he married her publicly in the Lutheran Cathedral of Breslau. On the following day the Prince-Archbishop of Breslau pronounced a sentence of the greater excommunication against the Prince of Hatzfeld, in which, after reciting the above facts, he says:

“ Considering that his Serene Highness the Prince Germain of Hatzfeld de Trachembourg

and de Jaschowitz has rendered himself guilty of polygamy, since during the life of his wife he has married another woman; that such an act should be punished the more severely from its being committed by a person so highly placed as the Prince of Hatzfeld by birth, rank, and fortune, and whose example must necessarily have great effect upon the people; that the Prince of Hatzfeld has shown a supreme degree of ingratitude to the late Pope Gregory XVI., who loaded him with favours and honours; that the Prince of Hatzfeld, who was at the head of the Catholics of Silesia, has by his conduct covered his co-religionists with shame; that it is notorious that he has stated everywhere that he had no uneasiness about what he had done, and that by means of money he would obtain from the Clergy the validation of his second marriage as he had the first; that it is necessary to prove to the public in a striking manner that it is an erroneous impression which is current in our

country that the Clergy are always indulgent to the powerful of the earth :—We, Melchior, by the grace of God, &c., Prince-Archbishop of Breslau, in virtue of our archiepiscopal functions, and in conformity with the holy canons, but to our regret and with griet, excommunicate the said Serene Prince Germain of Hatzfeld, as a public and obstinate contemner and transgressor of the laws and doctrines of the Church ; and we strike him with the anathema of the Church, and with all the legal consequences of that measure, and that in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

The Breslau papers state that the Prince of Hatzfeld, on learning that sentence of excommunication had been pronounced against him, intimated his intention of joining the Lutheran Church ; but that by the advice of his friends he abstained from doing so, because the consequence would be that he would lose two of his richest and most valuable lordships. The

Prince of Hatzfeld above spoken of is brother to the Prince of Hatzfeld-Schœnberg, whose *liaison* with the Countess of Myendorff gave rise to a celebrated trial at Cologne, in December last.

Towards the end of March, when the misery occasioned by the famine in Ireland had attained its greatest height, the Pope, not contented with his previous beneficence and exertions, addressed the following encyclical letter—a noble specimen of his humanity—to all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops, in favour of that unhappy country.

“ Venerable Brothers,

“ Our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs, have ever displayed the most active and assiduous solicitude in order to succour, by all possible means, the nations of Christianity. You well know it V. B., you are familiar with the History of the Church, and you are not ignorant that this admirable and salutary zeal, is not only manifested by spiritual benefits accorded to all christian people, but that it extends to the relief of public calamities, wherever a christian nation is

labouring under their infliction. All ancient and modern history, as well as your own recollections and those of your fathers, confirm this fact. In truth it belongs to the fathers and doctors of all christians to bear all christians in their paternal hearts.

Touched by such beautiful examples, and moved by our special inclination, we hastened to the relief of the poor of the kingdom of Ireland, which the high price of provisions and the dearth of corn, have crushed by the most frightful and overwhelming sickness.

Under these appalling circumstances we exhort the clergy, the Roman people, and all strangers who inhabit our city, to the succour of Ireland.

The letters we have received, speak only of the new ravages of the famine, it is a command to us to redouble our charitable efforts towards these people whose constancy has been conspicuous, in times of difficulty, for the defence of religion, and who traverse the confines of the universe in order to propagate it. We call you to the foot of the Altar, Oh ye, our brothers spread all over the earth, that ye may pray God not to visit other countries with this dreadful scourge.

You will find in the fathers of the church, and above all in the sermons of St. Leon the great, wise and magnificent eulogiums on charity and alms-giving. You know the admirable letter written by St. Cyprian the Martyr, Bishop of Carthage, to the Bishop of Numidia ; you must recollect the words of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, the beauty of riches is

to not to reside in the sacks of the rich, but to serve for food to the poor ; treasures shine more when they are distributed to the infirm and the indigent ; christians know that it is their duty to employ money to seek again not that which is theirs, but that which is Christ's, so that in his turn, Christ may seek them, &c."

Given at Rome, at St. Mary, Mayor, on the 25th day of March, in the year 1847, the first year of our pontificate.

PIUS IX."

Pius IX., yielding to the solicitation of the Chevalier Spontini occupied himself with the state of sacred music in Rome. The great reformer of the institutions of his country could not permit music, the most wonderful of all the arts, to remain any longer in a state of degradation and contempt.

We say it is wonderful, because the enthusiasm of the poet does not transport the soul equally with harmony, which excites by the sweetest emotions, and raises our thoughts to God by its mysterious influence, and we say it was in degradation, because the voices which

chaunted the glory of God in the temples of Rome were neither those of men, women, nor children. Pius IX. ordered the Abbé Manni and M. A. Moraldi, master of the Chapel of St. Peter, to search everywhere in Italy, and other countries, the *chef d'œuvres* of music of the ancient church, and then to prepare an edition, the most correct that was possible, with a new notation, to be published at the expense of the pontifical government, and under the auspices and patronage of the holy father himself. The intention of Pius IX. is to restore the Gregorian chaunt, in all its ancient purity. Sacred music had undergone a thousand successive changes, and had become entirely profane, while the musical services of the churches resembled concerts of theatricals, more than an assemblage of christians for the worship of God. The restoration of sacred music will add to the glories of his reign.

CHAPTER X.

St. Peter's—*La Settimana Santa*—The duel, or, the pilgrim colonel—*La Trinita da Pellegrini*—The dome of St. Peter's illuminated—Duc de Bordeaux... Emperor of Russia... Prince de Joinville... Commission of military reform... a Council of State... Cardinal Gizzi and the edict... Roman rejoicings... the Pope's brother... the memorandum... Count Lutzow and the people... Roman anniversary... the banquet—Dragonetti, Sterbini, Orioli, and d'Azeglio... Statue of Rome... opinions of the press... The King of Naples, the Pope, and the Marquis of Dragonetti.

IN writing the history of a Pope, it is impossible to avoid some description of the Eternal City over which he presides, or occasional allusions to those grand ceremonies of the Romish church which, from their grandeur, exercise no unim-

portant influence over the minds of the majority of his subjects. The thousand descriptions of St. Peter's, from the pens of the most popular writers, preclude our entering into any details of this, the most gigantic temple which the genius of man has ever elevated to the honour of God ; but we cannot entirely pass over the singular and romantic scenes which presented themselves to the observation of the stranger during the holy week—" *la Settimana Santa* " —which had now arrived.

On no previous occasion within the memory of man had Rome witnessed such an influx of visitors, so large an assemblage of the foreign nobility and people of distinction, but above all such crowds of pilgrims as had now congregated within her wide walls, some attracted by curiosity, others by sentiments of devotion, and the last, to take part in the religious ceremonies of the week. Amongst the pilgrims was observed one, remarkably venerable looking man, with a long white beard, who attracted

considerable attention—so much so, indeed, as to induce enquiries into his history. He was eighty-two years of age, had been a colonel in the army of Napoleon, and would have received his commission as a general officer, the day after the battle of Waterloo, had the fortune of the day been favourable to the Emperor's arms. After this break up of his hopes, the gallant colonel went to Paris, and made arrangements for his return to Italy, his native land.

While he was hastening the preparations for his departure, he was struck with the beauty of a young Parisian, and became so enamoured of her, that a complete change came over the spirit of his dreams, and he began to think seriously of marriage. At length, the very day—the 2nd of December, the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz—was fixed upon for the consummation of his cherished hopes.

A few days after he had decided upon the period which was to put an end to his celibacy, he called upon one of his best and oldest friends

to announce the happy tidings, and beg him to be present at the ceremony ; but at the mention of the lady's name, his friend turned pale, his voice faltered, and at length, he stammered out,

"It is impossible—this marriage must not take place. I love her."

"I deeply deplore the circumstance," replied the colonel; "but the affair has gone too far for me to beat a retreat. In five days she will be my wife."

"If I am no longer of this world ! Did she not then tell you that I loved her—that she had received my plighted faith, and that she had promised me her hand ?"

The colonel replied,

"She has given me her hand, and in five days she will be my wife."

"Once again, I tell you, if I am no longer of this world."

"I don't understand you," said the colonel.

"It is, however, quite clear enough," replied his friend.

“You mean, then, to provoke me?”

“To the death,” said his old acquaintance ;
“for I would sooner die than live without
her.”

The following morning, the two old friends met upon the ground, and exchanged shots, when the colonel's fire put an end to his adversary's pretensions and his life at the same moment, ill-luck having attended him both in love and in the field. The colonel returned victorious, but his victory was charged with the blood of his friend, and changed the current of his thoughts; the marriage-state had no longer any charms for him—he renounced for ever a union which would have been associated with the crime of homicide. He returned to Italy, and being too old to enter into any of the religious orders, he retired to Viterbo, where he girded himself in sack-cloth and assumed the pilgrim's habit for the remainder of his life.

During the holy week, immense crowds of

these pilgrims arrive at Rome and inhabit a palace set apart for them during three days which is called the *Palazzo della Trinita Pellegrini*, situated near the banks of the Tiber. Princes, cardinals, and the greatest personages of the empire consider it a duty to wait upon them during their sojourn. The Roman ladies of the noblest families also tender their services to the pilgrims.

The first morning after their arrival, the ceremony of the washing of feet takes place, and the princes who perform this task, which is executed with remarkable care and the strictest attention, are all habited in coarse serge. The three days' hospitality having expired, the pilgrims return to their homes.

At the termination of the imposing ceremonies of the holy week, the cupola of St. Peter's is illuminated, the magical effect of which baffles all description. Crowned heads and distinguished princes, who ascend to the lantern of the cupola, acquire thereby the

right to have their names inscribed on the grand staircase ; and it is a curious coincidence that the three last personages who had, at the period in question, ascended to the summit of this famous dome were the Duke of Bordeaux, the Emperor of Russia, and the Prince de Joinville.

On the 6th of April (Easter-day), a fête-day of great ceremony and rejoicing, the Pope signed the Ordinance for the institution of the commission of military reform, the object of which was to improve the administration of the army. The commission was composed of Mgr. Medici Spada, president ; of the princes Ruspoli, Barberini, and Gabrielli, and colonel Armandi, who had been minister of war under the central government of Italy in 1831. M. Lovatti was appointed secretary to the commission, the members of which were received by the Pope on the 17th instant, and commenced their labours on the 24th.

The 19th of April 1847, Cardinal Gizzi

published the following important document which must take its rank among the greatest and most eventful facts connected with the history of Italy:—

“ ‘ In the midst of the grave task imposed upon this great Pontificate, his Holiness does not cease to direct his special attention, with paternal solicitude, to all the ameliorations required by the different branches of the public administration. I have no occasion to repeat, at this time, all that the Holy Father, since the day of his advent, has not ceased to do to attain this great end. All the sensible people who really desire the welfare of these States, and who certainly form the majority of the population, acknowledge it, and express their gratitude to their generous sovereign. His Holiness, trusting to the assistance of God, will persist in the system adopted for the amelioration of public affairs, always, nevertheless, within the just limits which his high wisdom has fixed, and with all the maturity of thought required by a work of that nature. Besides you will find a new proof of the beneficent intentions of the Holy Father in the communication which I am about to make to you. I will tell you, in the mean time, that his Holiness, ever animated with the desire to regulate the march of the public administration in the most satisfactory order, pro-

poses to choose and to call to Rome a person from each province, who, by his social position, by his fortune, and by his information, will unite the qualities of a good subject of the Pontifical Government, and possess the confidence and esteem of his fellow-citizens. Ulterior dispositions will regulate the service of this assembly, whether to co-operate in the public administration or to employ itself with the better organization of the provincial councils, and other analogous matters. The persons who are, or will be, hereafter, chosen to this effect by the Holy Father will reside in the capital for two years at least. You will perfectly understand how important it is that the choice of the persons should answer the intentions of the Holy Father. The deputies should have no other incentive than the public good, and no other object but the advantage of the public. You will have the goodness, in the mean time, to propose to me the names of two or three of those persons belonging to your province, in order that his Holiness may fix his choice. The enlightened zeal, of which you have given proof, to second the beneficent intentions of the Holy Father, are to me a sure guarantee that they will be renewed in an affair of this kind—an affair which concerns a measure that may produce the greatest benefit to the state of each province.

(Signed)

“ ‘CARDINAL GIZZI.

“ ‘ Rome, April 19, 1847.” ”

The Prince who has employed all his thoughts, from the day on which he was invested with Sovereign power, to effect the reform of abuses, and the amelioration of the condition of his people will not lack determination to proceed in the work of regeneration, and the language of the liberal and enlightened press of England in this respect must cheer him on in the arduous path in which he is directing his steps—

“Pius IX.” writes the *Morning Chronicle*, at the period of the publication of Cardinal Gizzi’s notification, “bids fair to be the great reformer of his age. He has already done wonders for the administration of the States placed under his sovereignty, for the freedom of thought, and for the liberty of the press, and he now has intimated his intention of endowing his country with a constitution; or, at all events, with an approach to a system of national representation.” The representatives of the different provinces of the Roman States

have been called on to meet at Rome, for the purpose of discussing with the Government the affairs of the Administration, and of aiding it in the measures to be adopted for the amelioration of the condition of the people. This important measure, which has created a great sensation in Italy, and which raises the hopes of all the friends of liberal institutions in that country, has been announced by Cardinal Gizzi to the governors and prefects of the provinces. And to judge of the effect of the edict, constituting the Counsel of State, one must have been upon the spot. The people were mad with joy, and rushed into the streets and public places to give free vent to their delight and enthusiasm. They held meetings in the *Piazza del Popolo*, where they were joined by the young students of the colleges, bearing standards, upon which the new edict was printed in large letters. A general illumination followed in the evening, and 20,000 men, each having a lighted torch, marched in procession

to the Quirinal. Upon their arrival at the *Piazza del Monte Cavallo*, they were met by 60,000 persons who were anxiously awaiting their arrival. The immense area of the Monte Cavallo was scarcely large enough to contain the assembled thousands, the roofs of the houses, and the balconies of the palaces were all crowded with spectators, waving their hats and handkerchiefs, in the midst of the deafening shouts of "Long live Pius IX., Rome, and the provinces." At eight o'clock, the Pope appeared at the balcony of the palace, and gave his benediction to this mass of human beings intoxicated with the joy which the hope of liberty, willingly and spontaneously conceded by a paternal monarch, so naturally inspired in their grateful hearts. The edict is remarkable above all things from the fact of its not being an act wrung with difficulty and long-struggling, from a feeble power, but on the contrary, a voluntary benefit, a free acquiescence in the principles of the memorandum addressed by the powers in 1831

to Pope Gregory, and by him rejected. More confident in the good sense and liberality of Pius IX., the Roman people of 1847 did not hesitate to carry the memorandum themselves to the foot of the Pontifical throne. The memorandum was signed by the first magistrates, the municipal councillors, and the principal inhabitants of the Roman States. Amongst the first number was the signature of the Count Mastai, the brother of the Pope, who resides at Sinigaglia. The following are the contents of the document in question :—

“ 1. The application of administrative and municipal reforms to the capital and the provinces.”

“ 2. The general admission of laymen to all administrative and judicial functions.”

“ 3. The establishment of a system of municipal election and municipal councils in connection with the central council of administration to be included amongst the series of new municipalities.”

“ 4. The creation of a central establishment destined to watch over the administration of the finances

of the State, this junta to be composed at the same time of members elected by the local councils, and the counsellors named by the government in accordance with the Council of State."

Austria opposed every obstacle to the realization of these ameliorations, but the steady insistence of Cardinal Gizzi, and principally of the pro-legate of Ravenna, and of the delegate of Ancona, who threatened the tender of their resignations in the event of any further delay, made the Government of Vienna hesitate, seeing that the moment for the vessel of Central Italy to make sail had already arrived.

The enthusiasm, and at the same time, the moderation of the great majority of the people left scarcely any case of excess to deplore. The citizens of the Roman States received the Pontifical declaration in a manner which proved that they were ripe for liberty, and would not abuse the blessings it diffuses, their good sense enlightened the calm and dignified

attitude which they assumed,—their intelligence and the wonderful restraint they put upon their actions, put to flight the unworthy suspicions with which malevolence had fondly hoped to brand the Roman character. Secret agents purposely sent to Rome had inflamed the minds of the populace with the ideas of a Constitutional Government, both democratic and popular, so that at first there were many enthusiasts who indulged in the expectation of reviving the republics of Florence and Venice. They also excited the people against the Austrian Ambassador in such a manner as to give him cause of complaint against the Pope. The lower orders made bonfires upon the Piazza del Vaticane, and accompanied their rejoicings with awful cries, menaces, and hootings against Count Lutzow when passing through the city,—so much so as to put him in fear of his life, when surrounded by 60,000 people in such a state of excitement; but the good sense of the people prevailed, and the

tide of popular emotion having once overflowed, soon returned to its natural channel.

On the 20th April, the day after the Convocation of the Council, the Pope sent an encyclical letter to the clergy of Ireland, in reply to their address upon his elevation to the throne. The letter is full of kind wishes and aspirations for the good of the people and the clergy of Ireland, but contains nothing in an historical point of view to justify its insertion in these pages, although bearing continued evidence of his general solicitude for all the members of his flock. A manifestation highly characteristic of the nation took place at Rome on the 21st April—the celebration of the 26th century of the foundation of Rome—and the Romans determined to display on the occasion an unexampled magnificence. It required indeed extraordinary pomp worthily to *fête* the successor of the Cæsars and Constantine, of the Saints Gregory, Julius II., Leo X., and Sixtus V. At the banquet in question, 800

persons sat down at the tables, which were laid out in the baths of Titus, on the *Monte d' Esquilino*. In the centre of the building, was the statue of Rome, with the wolf which nourished Romulus, and all round the room were disposed hundreds of banners, of the Pontifical colours. The Roman ladies occupied the boxes and formed an immense croud of flowers and precious stones around this imposing assembly. The civic guard, in their full dress uniform, within and the Dragoons without maintained order, and bands of military music played at intervals.

The dinner was scarcely over, when four orators attracted the attention of the guests—the Marquis Dragonetti, who spoke first; M. Orioli, who succeeded him; then Peter Sterbini, and the Marquis Massimo d' Azeglio, whose eloquent address terminated this magnificent banquet.

The opinions of the foreign press were most favorable to the orations delivered at this ban-

quet; speaking of the address of the Marquis d'Azeglio, and his allusion to the presence and pride of the Goths, Huns and other vandals in Italy, the Italian journals say it elicited thunders of applause, and has been printed by authorisation of the new board of censorship, in a supplement to the *Contemporaneo*. The only other allusion was to England, which the speaker designated our elder sister in "manufactures, commerce, and freedom." For obvious reasons no reference was made to France; and with respect to the fair and liberal manner in which the censors perform the duties of their office another journal observes :

"The liberality of the new censors is the topic of general praise; and, indeed, it is considered that the palpable truths uttered in the presence of so many applauding auditors, and ratified by the common sense of the whole peninsula, would amount to a *suppressio veri*, equivalent to a *suggestio falsi*. Altogether, this awakening exhibition will not fail to tell

throughout Italy; and if the founder of the baths, "the beloved of mankind," were permitted to hover in spirit over the scene, he could not repeat that "he had lost a day!"

Four hours from the moment of issuing from the press, they were greedily devoured in every coffee-house, club, and private family in Rome; blessings were invoked on the orators, and on the whole proceeding; when the agents of the police made their appearance in every hole and corner of Rome where the *Contemporaneo* was supposed to be taken, and begged and menaced until they got back the "supplement of speeches." Not in all cases were they successful; but at the post-office they succeeded but too well.

The *Diario di Roma* also announced in its columns that the King of Naples had sent his compliments to the Marquis Dragonetti (a Neapolitan), who spoke the opening oration, requesting his presence at court; but the orator declined; whereupon Ferdinand II. called on

the Pope to expel him to the frontier, where relays of gendarmerie were ready to escort him from Terracina to Castel Novo; Pius flatly refused to commit such a breach of hospitality, and the Marquis remains happily in the Eternal City.

CHAPTER XI.

The fête of the Pope—Infant school—Cardinal Amat and the candidates—The liberty of the press—The Edict—Reflections—The Grand Duke of Tuscany—The press and the King of Sardinia—Death of Cardinal Micara—A radical Cardinal—Lambruschini or the devil's choice—Death of Cardinal Polidori—Promotion of Cardinals, Orioli, Asquini, and Ferretti—Dissolution of the Academy *dei nobili Ecclesiastici*—Mr. Cobden at Florence—The Lazaroni—the Roman Custom House, its tricks and impositions—*la bona mano*—municipal reform and regulations—Civil and Canon law...An expensive breakfast, or Pius IX. and the Clerk of the passports.

THE 5th May, being the anniversary of the fête of the Pope, it was the intention of the people to have commemorated the event with great splendour, but the Sovereign Pontiff suggested the idea of suppressing all public

rejoicings, and of making a collection which should be applied to the wants of the poorer classes. Seven thousand dollars were the result of this charitable idea—a portion of which was expended in food for the indigent, and the balance was applied to the establishment of a school for the young children of the lower orders. However, notwithstanding the readiness with which the people attended to the suggestion of their sovereign, the whole city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening.

A few days later, on the 9th May, the Cardinal Amat, Legate of Bologna, forwarded to the Pope the list of candidates from whom were to be chosen the representatives of the province over which he presided. The Cardinal had inserted six instead of three names, hoping that his sovereign would give that number of representatives to Bologna as the largest and most populous city of the Roman provinces.

In mounting the steps of that throne, upon

which Pius IX. is so happily seated, the Sovereign Pontiff felt that the liberty of the press was the polar star of his temporal government, but like the best things in this world, the Pope imagined that even liberty should have its limits--and that it should resemble the great rivers in calm and majesty, and not rush like a torrent overwhelming with havoc and destruction all within its impetuous influence. In giving it life, he reserved to himself the right of educating it, of ordering its youthful goings and returnings, of regulating its limits and protecting society from the baneful influence of its licentiousness—by a censorship, the edict for which was signed by the Pope on the 15th May, 1847, and it was published by Cardinal Gizzi on the 18th of the same month.

Before discussing the merits of the measure itself, we deem it due to the history of Pius IX. and of Italy to transcribe the edict at full length.

“Pascal Gizzi, Cardinal Priest,
Secretary of State of H. H. Pius IX.

“The press being one of those modern inventions which increases the power of speech, and multiplies good and evil, truth and error, has, from the beginning, formed one of the most serious objects of solicitude on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff, whether for the purpose of advancing useful reforms, or for that of averting dangers.

“As a glorious monument of this double vigilance, may be cited, on the one hand, the printing establishments which have acquired so great a celebrity at Rome, under the protection of the Sovereign Pontiff...and in the provinces under the auspices of the Bishops; on the other hand, the wise laws to restrain the abuses of this noble art, and, while it offers new resources and new riches to the human mind, to prevent its being used to the injury of the faith, or the corruption of the manners of the people. The form of these laws must always be subjected to successive modifications, accordingly as the increasing number of authors and printed works render the examination of the only censors to whom this change had been confided, too slow or incomplete.

“It was to remedy this inconvenience, and render the censorship more prompt and expeditious, that Pope Leo. *XIII.* published, by the Cardinal Vicar, the edict of the 18th August, 1835.

“The intention of his august successor (the Pope now happily reigning) is to maintain this edict in full force, as far as regards the censorship, upon scientific, moral, and religious matters.

“With respect to the censorship in political matters, the same edict, (paragraph 8, 1st section), ordains that every article destined for publication, which shall be of a nature to excite complaints on the part of foreign governments, or to excite dangerous controversies in the State, shall not be printed without permission first had, and obtained, from the office of the Secretary of State.”

“But now that the wants of the age bring forth such numerous articles in which political matters are treated, directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, it has become impossible for the office of the Secretary of State to satisfy all demands with that despatch which is naturally desired by the author. In consequence, His Holiness desiring at the same time that this difficulty should neither shackle the just liberty of the press, nor permit it to degenerate into fearful licentiousness after having advised with the competent authorities has commanded the establishment in the

following manner in Rome, as well as in the provinces of a Council of Censure, to whom the ordinary Ecclesiastical Examiners shall henceforth transmit all political writings, after having previously examined the same in order to assure themselves that they contain nothing contrary to religion, true morality and the laws of the Church.

“In execution of this sovereign will, and with the august approbation of his Holiness, we have decreed the following regulations :

FIRST SECTION OF THE COUNCIL OF CENSURE.

“1. The Council of Censure at Rome will be presided over by the Reverend Father, the master of the holy palace, and will be composed of five members chosen by his Holiness from amongst the most distinguished men of letters.

“2. In the chief seats of the provinces, the council will be composed of two censors, equally nominated by his Holiness, upon the proposition of the Governors of the Province, who will fulfil the functions of President.

“3. Half the counsellors will go out of office every five years ; the first time by ballot. They

may, however, be confirmed by the sovereign will of his Holiness.

4. "The members of the council will divide between them the different matters, scientific or politic, of each journal or other writing submitted to their examination, according to the method which may be determined upon by the president. If the decision of a counsellor affect the substance matter of the writing submitted to his perusal, according to the order and method which shall be determined by the president, an appeal may be made from his vote to that of the whole council; and it will be equally open to each counsellor to submit to the counsel board such things as he may not feel justified in pronouncing judgment upon alone.

5. "The Council of Censure, at Rome, will pronounce judgment without appeal, according to the rules hereinafter set forth, and upon its own responsibility as regards the government, upon all demands which shall be presented.

"6. The vote of the provincial censors, in case of difference, shall be submitted to the judgment of the president, which shall be without appeal when it relates to articles of the press or pamphlets; but if it relate to works of greater importance, the president himself shall appeal from his council to that of Rome.

"7. No article disapproved of by the Council of

Rome, can be presented to any of the provincial councils, and all approvals obtained in such manner shall be null.

SECOND SECTION.

Rules for the guidance of the Council of Censure :—

1. “ The Council of Censure must not approve of any journal or periodical publication without having previously referred it to the Director General of the police, who will give the required permission in writing, after declaration of the subjects of which the journal in question is to treat, and of the names of its principal coadjutors, of its mode of publication, its capital, and after a responsible editor shall have given security for the due observance of the laws upon the press.

“ 2. It shall be lawful to discuss all subjects of science, of letters and art ; contemporaneous history, and matters concerning the public administration, with the guarantees hereinafter set forth, all that can contribute to the improvement of agriculture, industry, commerce, navigation, and the carrying out of public works.

“ It shall be lawful also to reprint the acts of government, when they have been published by an official journal, to insert the announcements of reli-

gious ceremonies, public spectacles, printed works or in the press, and other advertisements, except judicial, always conforming themselves to the disposition of the laws of stamps and registration of the 29th December, 1827, article 219, the due execution of which will be attended to by the proper authorities.

“ 3. All articles which tend not only to the contempt of religion, of the church, and the dignity of its ministers, but everything which attacks the honor of the magistrates, of the army, the families of citizens, governments, and foreign powers, reigning families, and their public representatives are forbidden.

“ 4. It is equally forbidden to insert any article or discourse which tends directly or indirectly to render the acts, forms, or institutions of the Pontifical Government odious to the subjects of the State or which should feed the factious, or excite popular movements against the laws.

“ 5. It is forbidden to publish in any journal the speeches pronounced in assemblies not legally authorised.

“ 6. The Council shall be bound to inform the government at all times when the articles printed are not conformable to the approved manuscript. Upon this report of the Council, and after the defence of the accused, the public minister will proceed to apply

the penalty, either against the responsible Editor, if it relate to any authorised journal, or in the other cases, against the printers or distributors of the publications. These penalties shall consist in the confiscation of the copies, and in a penalty which may vary from 10 to 100 Roman écus ; besides the temporary suspension of their trade upon a second offence, and that without prejudice to any action criminal or civil, which by virtue of the laws in force, and according to the nature of the offence, the injured parties may exercise against the offenders before the proper tribunals.

“ 15th May, 1847.”

“ P. CARDINAL GIZZI.”

In offering the following remarks upon the wisdom of the foregoing edict, it must be borne in mind that we are now merely representing the very moderate views of the Roman people, and the arguments by which they endeavour to sustain the liberality of those concessions to the press, which are, perhaps, only the stepping-stone to the accomplishment of its real liberty. But it is said that the Roman people understand, with their sovereign, that if liberty be the legi-

itimate daughter of Heaven, licentiousness is the illegitimate daughter of Liberty; and far from finding in this conservative measure any indication of a return to those antiquated ideas which had filled Rome with desolation and misery—they only see in the censorship a security for the rights of society, and deem the act necessary, now that liberty and the press are united, and that a council of intelligent men is to be established, to protect them against their own excesses. The censorship, they say, has not been instituted for journals which address themselves to superior intelligence, to the talent and learning of a nation, because the editors of those journals always know how to maintain the argument to the level of science and to preserve the dignity so suitable to its important functions. The censorship exists for those prints whose doctrines are either too advanced to accommodate themselves to the principles of the government, for such as constitute themselves the organs of a party in

systematic hostility to it, or, finally, for those who, adverse to the chief of the state, seek to depose him, in order to substitute another, more suitable to their views of political fanaticism. The censorship, they observe, is useful in a government newly called to liberty. Men of letters learn before they teach; they must study all the branches of literature, and the social sciences, before their opinions are entitled to any weight, or that they should be permitted to instil them into the minds of the irreflective or those who are incapable of reflection.

They are of opinion that Pius IX. does not seek to extinguish the liberty of the press, but that the edict is only a politic concession to the situation of embarrassment in which he is placed, and that the names of the censors,*

* The grand master of the palace, president; council, the Marquis Antici, Abbé Coppi, Salvator Betti, and the advocate, Vanutelli—all distinguished men of letters, of moderately liberal opinions, with the exception of the president.

mostly attached to the liberal cause, is a sufficient revelation of the intentions of government, and an adequate guarantee against any legitimate apprehension of danger.

The apologists for the censorship in the Roman states, under the existing state of affairs, ask what is required and exacted from a man as a physician? and they answer, 'that at least five years of his life be spent in the study of anatomy, pathology, surgery, *materia medica*, physiology, physic, botany, pharmacy, &c., and that at intervals he pass before professors in each of these sciences, to show that he is capable of exercising one of the noblest callings of humanity. Again, the clergy, the bar, and all learned professions are subjected to the same rigorous examination, therefore, they argue, that those who have to pronounce final judgment, to praise, to condemn, to criticise, to dispense blame, or excuse, in regard to theology, medicine, the social sciences, political economy, the arts, literature, political

institutions, the government of nations, to judge the laws and the judges, the sovereigns and their subjects, the administrations and the ministers, should give proofs of their talent, judgment, and capacity for the responsible charge they undertake as journalists, and must, at least for a time, continue subject to the censorship in Italy, owing to its peculiar position as the centre of Europe, looked upon, as it is, with a jealous eye by those who surround and watch its movements.

These arguments, however ingenious, will not satisfy the only censorship which, happily, exists in this country—public opinion—that great tribunal, against whose voice it were worse than folly, more pitiable than insanity—for it would indeed be criminal to contend. The *vox populi* never errs, but for the moment ; excesses of every nature are repressed by the only power which is capable of subduing them—public opinion ; there is no important interest in the empire whose stake is not trebly secured

by the irrepressible independence of the press, the sole organ of public opinion ; no government whose severity or security could be maintained but by virtue of public opinion ; no laws whose enactments could be carried out but through the agency of the same imperial power, for the press is the empire of a monarchy, as it is the death and destruction of despotism. In the exercise of its sovereign power, the journals of a free press may do occasional injustice, which they will repair ; they may injure individuals for the benefit of society in general ; they may bring down the exaggerated pride of literary presumption ; they may drive the struggler for fame into the new-river, parliamentary pretenders into insignificance, agitators into oblivion, the statesman to suicide, and the government to a dissolution, but the concentrated aim of the British press is liberty, order, virtue, religion, loyalty, the rights of persons and property, with the crowning qualities of charity, mercy, and

humanity, and he who is indifferent to its anathemas, which are the excommunication of public opinion, merits no place but the dungeons of a lunatic asylum, and no consideration but contempt.

If the press were shackled by the restrictions of the censorship, it would be beneath contempt, because it would become, in the mildest hands, an instrument of terror and oppression, an engine of corruption, of which the highest bidder would become the purchaser.

It cannot, however, be denied that the edict in question is an advance towards that unrestricted liberty of the press which Italy will claim, hereafter, as a right, of which the edict itself is a recognition ; and we should be doing injustice to the Sovereign Pontiff, did we not admit that his object was noble and generous in the concession, while no apprehension need exist of any abuse of the censorship during his invaluable life.

The retrogressive party received the new

law with holy horror, while they were not sufficiently acute to discover the effect it must necessarily have in favour of the Papal government, and its measures of reform, by creating a public opinion in the Italian peninsula which could effectually check the systematic attacks of its enemies, both external and internal. The impulse given to the press at Rome soon spread to Tuscany. The Grand Duke, the father of his people, followed the Pope's example, and the King of Sardinia crowned the glorious work by a decree modifying the then existing law upon the censorship.

The death of the Cardinal Micara, who expired on the 24th, instant, was greatly deplored by the middle and lower classes of the Roman people. Of all the prelates he was the most popular with the lower orders, and although he had little prospect of success in the Conclave he was obliged to escape privately to the Vatican to avoid being carried in triumph by the populace. Pius IX. frequently visited him du-

ring his illness, and held him in great esteem, although his political opinions were less moderate than those of the good Pontiff. He was the terror of the retrograde faction, and was known to advocate most sweeping reforms, including an agrarian law for breaking up entails, and reconstructing the tenure of land in the Roman States. In consequence of the publicity he had given to these opinions, the great proprietors of the desolate Campagna endeavoured to cast every ridicule upon him and the bifurcated flowing grey beard he wore as a capuchin induced them to give him the nickname of the "Pacha with two tails."

Cardinal Micara was remarkable for the simplicity of his establishment, and the total absence of that pomp and expenditure which distinguished his brother Cardinals.

It is recorded of this eminent and very free speaking Prince of the Church, who was Dean of the Sacred College, that upon going to the Conclave in the same carriage with

Cardinal Lambruschini, the intriguing partizan of Austria, the former addressing Lambruschini, said—"If the powers of darkness preside over the election you will be Pope, if the people had a voice, I'm the man; but if Heaven have a finger in the business, it will be Ferretti."

He was considered the great tribune of the Roman people, and all the hopes of the *trans-everini* were centered in him if any evil had befallen their enlightened Monarch, for although a septuagenarian he was a vigorous man until shortly before his death.

After the event we have just recorded the Pope proceeded to make some important promotions in the high regions of government. Cardinal Ostini, prefect of the congregation of Bishops and the regular Clergy, was named prefect of the Congregation of Council, in the place of Cardinal Paolo Polidori, deceased. Cardinal Orioli replaced the former, and Cardinal Asquini, newly created, was named prefect of the congregation of indulgences vacant by the

nomination of Cardinal Ferretti to the functions of Legate of Urbino and Pesaro.

At the same time that these changes were effected in the administration, Pius IX. ordered the dissolution of the Pontifical academy *dei nobili ecclesiastici*, a seat of superior learning at Rome, in order to its re-establishment upon a more ample basis. He equally reformed the administration of the grand hospital *del Spirito* as well as all the numerous foundations attached to it.

The arrival of Mr. Cobden in Florence at this period produced a great excitement throughout Italy, and the Florentines were not backward in rendering homage to the representative of the enlightened principles of commercial enterprise which bid fair, as the Times said, to become the basis of all the fiscal codes of the Continent. A grand banquet was given upon the occasion in the Borghese Palace, in the magnificent gallery of which 110 persons

assembled to do honour to a Member of the British Parliament and the principles of free trade.

The chair was occupied by the Chevalier Vincenzo Perazzi, Mayor of the City of Florence, who was supported by many persons distinguished by name, talent, and fortune.

They were equally desirous at Rome to receive the man, who had, by his untiring exertions, produced so great a revolution in the commercial and international prospects of the globe. The latter state, more than Florence, felt the necessity of an alteration and reformation of all that had reference to Customs duties—no taxes bear so hardly upon the people as those which are imposed upon the import and export of provisions and the manufactures of foreign countries. The question of Customs, or rather of prohibitions, has led to strong controversies in the writings of political economists, from statesmen, and in legislative parliaments. Unfortunately for the people, the Governments

feeling the necessity of their financial products, are unable to approach the subject with that freedom of action which its importance requires.

The enlightened people of Rome, in their anxiety to do honour to Mr. Cobden, wished at the same time to profit by his lessons, and effect a change in the prohibitive laws, by striking a grand blow at once at the Customs' duties in imitation of England, and Pius IX. wisely hastened the introduction of those reforms in this department, which were absolutely required by the altered position of Italy. All these impolitic barriers will be thrown down in his states, and as the eye of the Pontiff is over his whole kingdom, we shall soon see but one wise system prevading the whole Italian peninsula.

The Roman Custom-house has ever been the greatest annoyance to which travellers in Italy are subjected; it was impossible for a stranger to pass through the country without being exposed to every species of trickery, a circum-

stance which completely spoilt the pleasure of his journey. After the police of Rome, the administration of the Customs was decidedly the most arbitrary and iniquitous in Europe. As soon as carriages or public vehicles entered the towns, the Custom-house Office was besieged with beggars. The audacious *Lazzaroni* first of all demanded their taxes on the traveller, the searcher his, then the Custom-house Officer permitted nothing to pass without a fee, which never found its way into the public treasury. Thus the traveller paid three times as much as the law directed; but Pius IX. has reformed this branch of administration and indeed has introduced an infinity of ameliorations which were urgently required; for instance, he has abolished the imposition of *la bona mano*, a disgraceful custom established centuries ago, and not only exercised in his own Palace but in those of the great nobility. The morning after an audience, reception, dinner, or route, the stranger who had had the honour of an

invitation, invariably found his ante-chamber thronged with the domestics of his host, who came to ask charity. The reform in the body of the police and the better administration of this important branch of public safety, has led also to the dispersion of those bands of *Lazzaroni*, whose whole lives were passed in thieving everything upon which they could lay their hands—Pius IX. has also reformed the whole system of public carriages by appointing regular stands for the cabs and coaches, examiners, as to their safety and cleanliness, and a tariff of fares; he has established the facility of walking at all times in the streets of Rome, by the suppression of gutters from the roofs of the houses, and has prohibited the display of goods in the fronts of the shops as well as stalls upon the public promenades and places.

Passing from these excellent police regulations, which must be fully appreciated by all who knew Rome as it was in the time of his predecessor, to the more serious legislation upon

civil and canonical law, each laws of the state, although widely differing in their origin and importance, the first deriving from the ancient Roman law—and in the decisions of temporal princes, the second reposing upon the canonical councils and the decrees of the Popes, as spiritual sovereigns, we behold Pius IX., with admirable sagacity, settling new questions of overpowering difficulty, by the abolition of certain tribunals, such as that of the Vicariato, for instance. The tribunals lately reconstructed being established upon the civil law, their reformation was comparatively easy, but it was not so with respect to those which adjudicated upon the canon law. *Il Tribunale del Vicariato* which judges all cases, as well the offences against religion as those against morality, has been limited for the future to the trial of questions purely religious, while misdemeanours against morality, will be taken cognizance of by the ordinary *tribunal del Governo*; and moreover, religious offences will

be classed in the same category whenever the offenders are not ecclesiastics. In this manner the clergy remain as they were, but the position of laymen is invested with perfect security—we must not however omit to state one very important amelioration introduced into the tribunal *del Vicariato* in reference even to the clergy, and from which they must derive additional security—the verdict belongs not to the judges, but to a species of jury of ten ecclesiastics.

On the other hand the Pope takes every occasion which presents itself to reform the various branches of administration, to abridge the delays, so prejudicial and often so fatal to suitors. One day after a conference with Mgr. Grassellini, the Governor of Rome, he perceived from his window a crowd of people assembled below, amongst whom were many work-people, who were waiting at the door of the Police office to obtain the signatures to their passports. An hour later the same men were still at the same place.

Pius IX. sent one of the grooms of the chambers to ascertain the cause of this delay. He was told that the clerk charged with the regulation of the passports, had put them off until after he had breakfasted, which he had not yet finished.

“Go and bring him to me,” said the Pope; and an instant after the clerk was introduced to the presence of his sovereign.

“Mr. ———” said Pius IX., “you are employed and paid by my government to fulfil strictly the functions which are confided to you. Another time I advise you to be more cautious in your conduct, for I never permit the business of my subjects to be sacrificed to the leisure, caprice, or the stomach of my servants. Go, sir, and make out the passports for those men directly, and as a recompence for the time you have made them lose, I command you to distribute amongst them 50 paoli.”

“Most Holy Father!” cried the clerk.

“I insist—for it is but common justice.”

“ But, Holy Father, I have not the amount !”

“ Very well ; here, take it,” giving him the money, “ and divide it amongst them ; and Mgr. Grassellini will take care to retain the amount out of your salary. Go.”

The clerk retired, saying, it was the dearest breakfast he had ever had.

CHAPTER XII.

The progress of liberty...The Censorship of the press...The Grand Duke of Tuscany...Equestrian order of Pius IX,...Russian mission...Administrative talents of the Pope...Roman enthusiasm...Proclamation against public rejoicings...The Padre Ventura. .*La Bilancia*...Count Lutzow and the Jesuits. .The Governor Grassellini and Cicerouacchio...Cardinal Ferretti ..Resignation of Cardinal Gizzi...Anniversary of the Amnesty...The Pope without a minister, and Rome without a Governor...The Emperor of Austria and Lombardy ...Commencement of the Conspiracy...The Coachmen of Rome...*Torre di quinto* ..Angelo Brunett or Cicerouacchio...Progress of the Conspiracy...The Pope and the nobility...Institution of the Civic guard...Popular enthusiasm...Alarm at the Vatican...Notice to the people...Flight of the conspirators...The Princes, the national guard, and

the Gendarmes...Colonel Freddi...Exile of the Governor of Rome...Address of the Carbineers to the people...Padre Ventura...The proclamation of Cardinal Ferretti...The Pope and diplomacy...
...What was the conspiracy of the seventeenth, and eighteenth of July?...Ferrara...Bologna...
Strange coincidence...Louis Philippe...Civita Vecchia, and Ancona.

At the end of June, 1846—one month after Pius IX. had assumed the reigns of government, all Italy was in movement, and Europe contemplated, with joyous feelings, her wise and certain progress towards the attainment of liberty.

The monasteries of Rome sent forth their bishops and missionaries throughout the world to teach, in Asia, Africa, and America, the principles of liberty which emanated from their temporal Sovereign, combined with the propagation of that faith of which their monarch is the spiritual chief. In Tuscany, the

Government of the Grand Duke put into execution on the 1st June, those laws upon the Censorship, which ensured to his subjects an extension of the liberty of the press ; and on the 4th of the same month, he nominated two commissions for the compilation of new, civil and criminal codes. This generous prince also convoked an assembly composed of all the superintendents of the municipal Councils of his State, together with those men of distinguished talent and reputation, who had filled the highest municipal offices of the populous cities, men eminently qualified to advise upon such matters, having for its object the liberal intention of making a thorough reform in the municipal and commercial administrations of Tuscany.

On the 19th June, the Pontiff created the Equestrian order of Pius IX. At this period the cabinet of St. Petersburg sent a mission to the Court of Rome, the conduct of which was confided by the Czar to the chief of the

legislative department of his empire, assisted by a former professor of canon law, at the University of Warsaw. The object of the mission was to smooth down the difficulties relative to the Greek church, and the Roman Court hoped that the Sovereign Pontiff would be able, finally, to obtain from the Emperor some advantages at least in respect to Polish nationality, if only for that which had reference to its religion. Much good was augured for the future in seeing so great and powerful a monarch seeking the friendship of the Pope, at a period too, when the latter had launched his ship in full sail, upon a new political ocean.

The spirit of agitation, of progress, and reform, already fermented throughout Italy, but at Rome the focus of intelligence, from whence the electric spark first burst forth, the excitement was universal, and as the principles were extended, and the measures developed, the enthusiasm became unbounded. The regeneration of a country is not the work of a

moment, otherwise Italy had not striven three hundred years to obtain it. No other than Pius IX. would have been capable of maintaining this excitement within its proper bounds, making it at the same time subservient to the noble objects he had in view for the benefit of his people, and of Italy in general. In the accomplishment of this object, there is no doubt that the spiritual power of the Pope was more important in its influence over the minds of the people than the temporal authority of the Sovereign, and the religious and paternal character of Pius IX. united to his authority, obtained the desired effect. To excited and fanatical imaginations, to wild, over-zealous, and theoretical politicians, Pius IX. spoke as a Sovereign Pontiff; but he addressed the dis-united, the factious, and the turbulent, as a king, armed with the majesty of the law, and the one and the other obeyed with docility—their eyes were opened to the light of truth, and this glorious revolution was confined within

its natural limits. Pius IX. marches boldly with events which are based upon justice and truth, notwithstanding the difficulties which are sown in his path, displaying the greatest judgment and tact, not permitting himself to be diverted from the object of his pursuit, effecting those reforms in a few months, which which have hitherto been the work of ages, without violence, and without trouble, in the bosom of a society wound up to the highest pitch of political excitement; changing all the institutions of his country in perfect unison with the feelings of his people inflamed with the fever of liberty; and all this without the slightest encroachments upon the principles of international law, which would have deprived him of the sympathies and assistance of powerful auxiliaries, and have rendered his position, already so delicate, complicated in the extreme. Pius IX. finding that the popular frenzy was unattended with ferocity, allowed it to expend itself before he applied a check to their re-

joicings—he avoided the perfidious counsels of men who would have converted the manifestations of his people into overt acts of treason, and founding his judgment upon the natural good sense and excellent disposition of the nation—he proved himself, by his forbearance and steady perseverance, the greatest politician and statesman of the age—his success up to this day had proved his capacity for governing. Nevertheless, many who had deeply studied the nature and tendencies of revolutionary movements were not without alarm. In the triumphal processions, the continued meetings of the people on the *Piazza del Popolo*, the empassioned discourses, the panegerics in honor of the Pope, they looked with great suspicion; and it cannot be denied that popular exaltation was on the increase, and it was impossible to say at what hour, or under what form it might overflow the bounds of joy, and compromise public tranquil-

lity, particularly with a people so excitable under the ordinary circumstances of life as the Romans, into whose hands the political questions of the day were for the first time debated upon in the public streets and places, and at public dinners of the inferior classes, at which sometimes as many as a thousand guests were present, where patriotic toasts, songs and speeches began seriously to compromise rational liberty and the Government itself. The Sovereign Pontiff could not now publish an edict, but that, within a quarter of an hour of its promulgation, all the banners of Italy were seen floating before the palace of the Quirinal—every day fresh processions inundated the city, marching in military array with martial music, the people singing the Italian *Marseillaise*; and when this army of 5,000 or 6,000 dispersed, it was only to re-form in detachments, and pass through the streets, for the purpose of keeping alive the political sympathies of their

order, discharging their muskets in all quarters of the city in honor of Pius IX., a practice frequently kept up throughout the night.

During this great expansion of their joy, which unfortunately was degenerating into excess, and before any interference of the police, the Sovereign Pontiff published a proclamation in which he invited, rather than commanded, the people to put an end to their overjoyous demonstrations; assuring them, at the same time, of his intention to carry out the projected reforms, as well as the introduction of other necessary ameliorations, without, however, holding out any hope of establishing a new form of government incompatible with the rights and privileges guaranteed by his predecessors from time immemorial. The friends of order received this proclamation with delight, it satisfied all those (by far the greater number) who wished reform, but not convulsion or destruction. The turbulent and discontented endeavoured to create an opposition, and to set the

Pope at defiance. They spread reports of the insincerity of Pius IX., and declared that his fine words and generous actions were all deception, and advised the people to have recourse to violent measures, and obtain by force that which they despaired to acquire from a sense of justice and liberality on the part of their Sovereign. From this moment agitation was converted into conspiracy.

Seeing the aspect of affairs, the Padre Ventura, on the 27th June, at the period of Mr. O'Connell's funeral, thus addressed 15,000 auditors from the pulpit, in allusion to the threatened disturbance of the public peace:—

“ You applauded me,” said he, “ as much as the respect due to this holy temple would permit. You have thereby publicly confessed...you have demonstrated in a manner the most evident and the most solemn, that you are not what some persons, who calumniate you, would fain make you appear. No, no ; you are not the enemies of the Pontifical Throne, of ecclesiastics, and of order. If you love rational liberty, you also love the sovereignty of the Head of the

Church and Religion. As the great Pontiff who rules over us is incapable of mocking you with false hopes, so are you incapable of forgetting the allegiance you owe him. Deception and revolt are things too vile to find a lodgment in hearts so noble and generous as those of Pius IX. and the Roman people.'

On the 2nd July, *La Bilancia*, a liberal journal, but at the same time one in very bad odour, published an editorial article, which positively asserted the existence of a spirit of alarming disaffection among the people, at the end of an encouragement to the government to persevere with firmness in carrying out its projected reforms; and the article in question concludes in the following terms:—

“We hope that this generous conduct on the part of the government will have the effect of calming the agitation of men’s minds, which has displayed itself of late in a manner so strange and menacing to the security of the country.”

The Padre Ventura did not, in his sermon,

confine himself to pointing out the evil—he made his immense auditory, of whom he was the oracle, understand the splendid position of Rome in the eyes of the world.

“Never, perhaps,” he said, “since the time of the ancients had the public mind been so exalted—never had the popular feeling risen so high in the thermometer of confidence in the star of Rome.”

This popular harangue was no sooner published than the Austrian Ambassador, by a great effort, obtained from Cardinal Gizzi and Mgr. Grasselini, the Governor of Rome, an order for its suppression. It was a great political triumph for the Count of Lutzow, who, proud of his achievement, determined to improve his success by another, in which he lost all the advantages he had previously obtained. He called the Jesuits to his aid, and on the following Sunday, the preachers of the order of Jesus, attacked the sermon of the Padre Ventura, and cast every possible ridicule upon

that portion of his discourse which had reference to political events. But at Vespers the other churches in the interest of Ventura, and belonging to his party, commenced a fearful attack upon the Jesuits.

The Padre Mazzoni, the Abbate Fabiani, Padre Boerio and the Abbate Romanini, curates of St. Marco and the Madalena, were those who took upon themselves the defence of the celebrated and popular preacher. Such was the state of affairs on the Sunday evening; but on the following day they presented a different aspect. *L'Italiano* appeared that day with a blank sheet, plainly informing the whole 15,000 of the Padre Ventura's auditors, that which the Censorship had achieved. No public commotion had taken place; nevertheless the newspapers were not allowed to express their opinions upon political or religious matters, but this was not all, a circumstance in itself trifling and insignificant, lighted the torch of incendiarism. A citizen having been robbed

went before the Governor of Rome to make his complaint. Grasselini replied—" *Eh! gioia mia*, why do you come to me? Have you not got Cicerouacchio and his crew?" This singular reply, which indicated that the government looked with an evil eye upon the ascendancy which had been obtained over the people by this chief—of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak more fully—was soon circulated through Rome, was interpreted in a thousand manners, but told the political agitators and the discontented in general that it was time to prepare themselves for attack. At Rome, popular movements are more easily excited in the months of June and July than at any other period, because crowds of people, who have occupation in the season, are then almost in a state of idleness; under these circumstances the revolutionary agitation gained ground from day to day. Political associations were formed, and the part each man had to play was assigned to him. The moment had now arrived in

which it was incumbent upon the government to prepare measures of defence, to sound the opinions of parties, to watch them narrowly, to gain them over, or to cause disunion in their ranks, but unfortunately Cardinal Gizzi could no longer continue his task so nobly commenced, and thus crown his great services with the success they merited. As soon as his resignation of office was known, a general cry accused him of deserting the cause of liberty, or of despairing to accomplish the grand projects of his sovereign, and they went so far as to say that he even censured the generous concessions of Pius IX.; but on reflecting a little it is easy to observe that the Cardinal could not be a renegade, inasmuch as that the whole conduct of Pius IX. was based upon the act of Amnesty and the convocation of the Council of State, both of which acts were countersigned by the hand of the Cardinal himself. His health, enfeebled by long study and indefatigable attention to business, rendered his longer continua-

tion in the administration irksome, particularly under the increasing labors of his office, and this consideration alone deprived the Pope of his services, the loss of which was deeply felt by his sovereign, and by the nation, above all, at so critical a moment. The first post in the government thus became vacant, but that which increased the embarrassment and danger was the despairing attitude assumed by the Governor of Rome. Mgr. Grassellini imagined that the semi-revolutionary movement which had commenced, would soon triumph over all his precautions, and that the liberalism of the Sovereign Pontiff was hastening from day to day this result, he thereupon became paralyzed, neglected his functions as director general of the police, and became a traitor to his king. Grassellini amused himself in exciting Cicerouacchio, instead of preparing with this chief of the people, who, not being enlightened, was easily led astray by perfidious suggestions—those means of defence, which, by the organization

of the patriots, who were the friends of order, would have checked the movement. This culpable inertness on the part of the Governor of Rome might have been most disastrous to the Sovereign Pontiff, and well nigh replunged Italy into the state of darkness from which she had just emerged.

Notwithstanding the increased and increasing difficulties of his position, Pius IX. did not permit his mind to be diverted from the accomplishment of the projects he had so nobly conceived for the benefit of his subjects, nor the administration of affairs to be neglected because he had lost the services of one man who had hitherto possessed his confidence. He felt perhaps, with the immortal bard, that there never was a time "when Rome's wide walls contained but one man," capable of carrying out his beneficent intentions, and his choice soon fell upon Cardinal Ferretti, a most distinguished prelate who had already given proofs of his courage and patriotic virtues as well as

of his learning and attainments. The following brief sketch of the biography of this great man will be sufficient as an introduction to his political career under a new era.

Cardinal Ferretti was born at Ancona, of a patrician family, and is now about fifty years old; his stature is high, and his features are open and candid. During his sacerdotal career he devoted himself with a truly apostolic zeal to works of charity, and the announcement of the word of God. He was raised to the see of Rieti under Leo XII., when Pius IX. was Bishop of Spoleto, and both prelates afforded each other mutual assistance, preaching in all directions, without excepting the prisons or dungeons. Such were his occupations at the time of the insurrection of 1831. The rebels, three thousand strong, with four pieces of cannon, advanced against the town; but the bishop ordered the alarm-bell to be rung, and upon perceiving the indifference of the people, declared that if the citizens refused to do their

duty he would divest himself of his episcopal cross, and die with arms in his hand, rather than deliver up the town to the enemies of his Sovereign and his Pontiff. This energetic conduct revived the courage of the inhabitants, and Heaven itself came to their help. A frightful storm burst forth; one of the cannons was struck by lightning, and the insurgents were completely dispersed. Some years afterwards, Monsignor Ferretti was sent to Naples as Apostolic Nuncio. In the year 1837 the cholera was raging in that capital, and in order to relieve the sufferers the Nuncio converted his palace into a hospital, sold all he possessed, from his carriage to the last piece of plate, and passing through the streets with a cross in his hand, he exhorted the people to penance and prayer, offering himself up as a victim of propitiation to the Almighty. The Pope had destined for him the Cardinal's Hat. On his return to the Papal States he was made Archbishop of Fermo, and succeeded a Prelate who

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for thirty years had been blind. The cardinal, however, soon renewed the former state of things in the diocese, and increased the number of pious foundations, the schools for the poor, and reformed the secular and regular clergy. When Pius IX. ascended the chair of St. Peter, Cardinal Ferretti had been residing several years at Rome. He was Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences, and was thus appointed to preach the Jubilee to the secular clergy of Rome. The Pope afterwards named him to the Legation of Urbino and Pesaro, where he endeared himself to the population. When he left Urbino, his palace was surrounded by an immense crowd, in tears. The Cardinal himself, with tears in his eyes, embraced those who approached nearest to his carriage, without distinction of rich or poor. His charity is above all description. Such is the prince of the church whom Pius IX. has just called to the helm of the State.

With the exception of the organization of

the national guard, there was, perhaps, no step which Pius IX. could have taken, so calculated to ensure future happiness to his country as the appointment of Cardinal Ferretti to the office of first minister of state. The Italian clergy, without doubting the good intentions of the Pope, were, nevertheless, alarmed at the spirit of liberalism which he had displayed. Brought up with different ideas, having imbibed other traditions, habituated to such widely different formularies, they could not understand these sudden changes, and inclined slightly to the opposition; but the happy choice which called Cardinal Ferretti to power—the man of the clergy, who had only the previous year preached and supported a measure of ecclesiastical retiring pensions, astonished and delighted them; and seeing that the cardinal had accepted office with a firm determination to pursue heartily the regenerative system of Pius IX. they turned their opposition into unanimous support, with the determination henceforth to

give their entire confidence to a prince who had placed such a worthy minister at the helm of affairs.

Events were coming to a crisis. The 16th of July—the anniversary of the publication of the Amnesty—appeared a favourable moment to the enemies of Pius IX. and of the public tranquillity to get up a counter-revolution, particularly as the Pope was now without a prime minister—Cardinal Ferretti not having yet arrived—and Rome without a governor and director of police. In this state of affairs, a few hundred vagabonds had been paid and drilled by the chiefs of the discontented party. They consisted of old police-spies, men of blemished character, so many of whom were to be found under the corrupt governments of Italy and France, and who had been deprived of the means of subsistence by the death of Gregory XVI.

Upon the first breaking out of the conspiracy, the parties consisted principally of the *papalini*,

fanatics and bigots by profession, who saw in Pius IX. an enemy of Catholicism ; a few officers and non-commissioned officers of the corps of pontifical carbineers, jealous of the new institution of the civic guard, who were anxious to convince the government of the importance which attached to their preservation for the safety of the country ; but we are bound to observe that these men were not Romans.

In political reactions, it is wonderful to see how, and in what manner factions form, compose, and recruit themselves. The most opposite elements frequently unite, to their own astonishment, but the movement is only momentary, like all monstrosities ; they meet to fight the common enemy, and after the first victory, they turn their arms against each other, and it is only thus that we can account for the fratricidal associations of priests and *sans-culottes*, soldiers and spies, women and

butchers, which have so tarnished the pages of history.

In all these counter-revolutionary movements, there is no doubt that although some of the parties were acting on their own account, others were in the pay of Naples, and the greater part were put in motion by the Austrian government, acting in concert with certain princes of the church.

It may be asked, how can it be credited that Austria—that mild and paternal Government, could instigate so revolting a conspiracy? the question is easily answered; however horrible this conspiracy may have been, it cannot be compared to the recent establishment of the *Jacquerie* in Galicia, and the massacres of Tarnow. The greatest crimes are, unfortunately, but child's play in the eyes of certain governments, when the question relates to the triumph of their systems. We cannot deny the difficulty of explaining anomalies;—

for instance, there is at Vienna, an old man, mild and simple in his manners, a good father, a good husband, beloved by the people of his vast hereditary estates, whose paternal hand is extended equally to all. Sixty millions of francs drawn each year from Lombardy,* add neither to his pageantry nor his pleasures. His brothers live like private gentlemen—He himself is to be seen daily, walking on the Prater, like a good and honest man in the midst of his people. If he meet a pretty child, he stops, passes his hand through his flaxen locks, and smiles upon the innocent baby. If a poor man fall under his horse or any accident happen in his sight, his sensibility is excited with the most lively compassion, and thus passes the even tenor of his life in untroubled peace and

* The official amounts of the population of the provinces of Lombardy, give a total of 2,506,000 inhabitants. They produce more than 4 million sterling of silk, of which nine tenths are exported.

content. When blood flows in torrents from the scaffold of Modena, when the groans of mothers, the widows' lamentations, and the tears of the orphans deplore a father, or a husband assassinated by the savage soldiery, one word from the mouth of this old man might avert all these horrors ; one look, and joy might be universal where sorrow has been implanted in the hearts of thousands—no !—he refuses—he spurns both glory and honour purchased at so cheap a rate ! Blood must be shed, or the descendents of the Romans must live like the German serfs. What is the alternative ? either abject and criminal submission to tyranny, or those risings with the rising power of the mind, which produce their matyrs to the cause of liberty, affliction to the domestic hearth, bloody and painful records of despotic rule, and finally victory to the oppressed, whose glory is but too often tarnished by the excess of retaliation, a vengeance we can no more confine within the bounds of wise humanity, than we can limit

the mercy or retributive justice of Almighty God.

The first acts of the chiefs of the conspiracy, began by arresting the coachmen and servants of the upper classes for their service; but the folly of this proceeding soon became evident and they sought a reconciliation with the offended parties. This gave occasion for public rejoicings again, which being in opposition to the proclamation of the Pope, against public assemblies, whom they had no desire to offend, threw them into another dilemma, which was ultimately overcome by the suggestion of a public dinner, which took place at a short distance from the City. On the 4th. July 4000 of the people held a meeting at *Torre di Quinto*, in the field where was situated the farm of Cincinnatus, who passed from the plough to the dictatorship of Rome. The price of the tickets for this picnic was very moderate (about 1/6d. English) in order that the entertainment should be accessible to the mass of the people. The object of the

meeting, at least to all appearance, was to furnish an occasion to Cicerouacchio for the display of his eloquence in favour of the Jews of the Ghetto. It is a fact that Pius IX. had manifested an intention to open the gates of that wretched quarter, but there existed so strong a prejudice on the part of the populace against this liberal desire, that it was not deemed prudent for the moment to carry it into effect.

The chairman of this vast assembly, known so well under the style of *Cicerouacchio*, which signifies in the Roman patois, "The fat-chopped man, the man of good health," was named Angelo Brunetti; forty-five years old, fat and short, of a common and ordinary expression at the first glance, but which, after an attentive examination, betrayed signs of intelligence, great energy and determination—a man, in fact, who might become distinguished, but would never be a tribune. Opinions are divided as to the part he played—some pretend

that he was the pivot of the counter revolution ; others, on the contrary, assert that he was the tool of the Pope—that which events are charged to demonstrate, proves that Brunetti was devoted to his country, and proud of his influence over the people, who acknowledged him their chief. If he had not been a patriot, the Government would have rid themselves of the man, since the enemies of the State were now under arms. We can imagine to what extent the leaders endeavoured to excite the 4,000 guests of the *Torre di Quinto* during this popular festival, by the enthusiasm which prevailed on the following day, and the new turn which the feelings of the people had taken. The popularity of Brunetti, who had assumed a peacock's feather as the emblem of the counter revolution, had now increased greatly. Nothing equals the activity and impatience, of the populace when they imagine they are called upon to influence State affairs by their

deliberations—they yield at once to the counsel of their chiefs, and become capable of the most sublime acts of generosity, or the most atrocious acts of criminality. The conspirators, discontented with the promises of the Pope in the proclamation to which we have before referred, determined, themselves, to continue that work of reform which Pius IX. had commenced, and they resolved to approach the throne itself with a petition for the immediate redress of their grievances. Doubt and disaffection were now gaining ground throughout the city; and although no direct or personal offence was offered to the Pope, the *Vivas* could not be mistaken, for in their hostility to the ministers, they added the word solo, and ‘*Viva Pio nono solo,*’ and death to the black robes, in allusion to the Jesuits, were substituted for the previous acclamations of the people.

The letters S. S. were also written upon the doors of respectable houses, and this apparent

menace created great terror to the inhabitants, who looked upon the act as a signal for assassination or pillage. One portion of society deemed itself upon the brink of a precipice ; while another kept itself in readiness to repossess themselves of the power which the election of Pius IX., only one year previously, had wrested from them. In the midst of the rumbling which precedes the storm, and while the petition of the people was being filled with signatures, the old government of Rome, the governor and the minister of State, Lambruschini, together with many officers of the police who had zealously seconded the ancient administration in discovering the conspirators, were particularly odious to a great part of the population, and above all, to those who had suffered fine, imprisonment, or exile, through their instrumentality, and the people waited the opportunity of some fête, or public rejoicings, not forbidden by the Pope's proclamations, in order to carry out against them the terrible

vengeance they meditated. The nobility seeing the lowering horizon and fearing momentarily that the thunder would burst upon their heads, considered it their duty to inform the Sovereign Pontiff of this alarming state of affairs. Pius IX. immediately assembled a Cabinet Council, and the result of a lengthened consultation, was the publication of an edict, which will long be famous in history, ordering the immediate organisation of the civic guard, to be composed of from 10,000 to 12,000 men, chosen from among the upper and middle classes of society. It was late when the edict was proclaimed, but this did not prevent thousands of people from assembling with torches and marching in procession to the residence of the Governor of the Palace. The streets through which the people passed were partially illuminated, notwithstanding the proclamation which forbade these demonstrations. A great concession had been obtained which placed arms in the hands of the citizens. Policy had

undergone a vast and instantaneous metamorphose, not only to the advantage of the Roman states, but in favor of the whole Italian peninsula. Henceforth the chief of the Pontifical States will present an impenetrable buckler to the attacks of factious enemies, for he may say : I am the nation !

The Minister of State published a notification a few days before the fêtes, announcing that the public rejoicings would be adjourned until after the entire organization of the civic guard, in order that it might be instrumental in preserving the peace and order of the city ; and he did not hesitate to admit that this determination was in strict accordance with the opinions of the nobility and upper classes of society. The counter-revolution thus appeared to be stifled at its very birth, when it had reckoned upon an explosion on the 17th and 18th July. The plan of the factious was to create confusion, an easy matter in the midst of such a mass of people, during the night, by torch-light, and fireworks. The soldiers who had

been gained over were to occupy the three great streets leading to the *Piazza del popolo*—that is to say *la strada del Corso*, *la strada di Repetta*, and *la strada del Babbuino*, and upon a given signal, and under the pretext that the people, devoted to their Sovereign, were the aggressors, they intended to commence those scenes of massacre which are so often the attendants of revolutions, and would have aided in the destruction of the whole machinery of the government. The factious reckoned principally upon the quarrels and dissensions which they could so easily excite between the coachmen as a pretext for commencing hostilities.*

* The Italian coachmen had long been in a state of ferment, in consequence of the preference given to foreigners for the management of horses ; and their cause had been taken up by the drivers of public carriages and hackney coaches, a very formidable class of men, who living in a continual state of excitement from drink, were easily misled by the appeals of the chiefs of the factions.

But the eyes of the Pontiff were upon them, he watched all night, he gave orders for the arrest of the chiefs of the conspiracy, and mandates against men in high positions, while other individuals of influence were called upon to rally round the person of their Sovereign. Under these circumstances, the civic guard was called out the same day for the defence of Rome, and each man was instructed as to the post he was to occupy in his district. The arsenal of the Castle of St. Angelo furnished old muskets for the citizens, who, in a few hours, found themselves, as by enchantment, equipped for service, and grouped round the residences of their various captains in the fourteen districts of the city of Rome. The whole day was passed in observation and measures of precaution. It was altogether a novel sight to see this militia without uniform, and the artisans in their working dresses, with their muskets upon their shoulders, their cartouches furnished with twenty-four rounds of cartridges,

and the sabre by their sides—all however animated by a spirit of determination and patriotism, and ready to shed their blood in defence of the Pope. The word conspiracy flew from one end of Rome to the other with the quickness of lightning, each family was agitated with alarm, and, from the terrors of the inhabitants, nothing less than the entire conflagration of the city was expected. In this state of things, reason loses its controul over the multitude, which obeys only the impulse communicated to it at the moment. It is governed exclusively by sympathies which are stronger than reason, and it suffices to show an end, to give an explanation, in order to see it rush on in its mad and impatient career—the former had been guessed by everybody, the latter was in the heads of all. It was a conspiracy got up by the Austrians, whose government is capable of committing any crime, in order to achieve its ends, and particularly when its aim is the repression of con-

stitutional liberty. The conspiracy was no sooner recognised than a hundred versions of its origin and objects were invented by the fertile imaginations of the people. We have neither time nor inclination to examine the contradictory absurdities which were in circulation at the period, it is sufficient to know that the attentions of the authorities and the well-informed were fixed upon certain individuals, known to be inimical to the liberal measures of the new reign. Bills were printed and stuck upon all the walls of the city, denouncing the names of the persons and their agents in the projected massacre, of which the following is a specimen :—

NOTICE TO THE PEOPLE.

“Instructions of Cardinal Lambruschini and Colonel Nardoni, left to the undermentioned, for the execution of a popular tragedy.

“INFAMOUS ACTORS.

“Monsignor Grassellini, governor-general of the police of Rome

“Colonel Freddi, president of the famous military commission at the mournful period of 1844.

“Captains, Allai and Muzzarelli.

“Lieutenants, Gianuci, San Giorgi, and Benvenuti, Lieutenant of Monsignor Grassellini, assessor of the Government.

“Minerdi, a celebrated spy.

“Vicenzo Moroni, brother of the inspector-general of the post-office.

“The Chevalier Bertoli.

“Sergeant Pontini.

“Three sons of the notorious spy Galanti ; and

“Fioravanti Patacca.

“All devoted to the eternal execration of the people.”

The police and carbineers attempted to tear down these papers, and were hooted and insulted by the populace. No sooner were the proscribed lists taken down in one place than they were affixed somewhere else in the vicinity, and eagerly read by the multitude. Many persons copied the names into their note-books to exhibit to their friends, and as several of the officers of the police were among the proscribed, so great was the public indignation,

and the frenzy of the populace, that the authorities dared not interfere.

The Governor of the city having resigned, and the officers of the police and carbineers, whose names were on the list of proscription, or who were generally suspected as accomplices, having fled or surrendered themselves as prisoners, the city was completely in the power of the factious, and dreadful disorders would have ensued, had not the Government called out the civic guard. Several persons were arrested on s'ight grounds, and a number of suspicious characters, mostly from the neighbourhood of Faenza, were taken up and committed for having come to Rome without passports, or for having deadly weapons about their persons. It was commonly believed that they were hired by Austria to create disturbances, and would have taken a prominent part in the intended "*popular tragedy*," as it was termed.

Colonel Freddi escaped at the moment some National Guards entered his house to arrest him.

They found his servants burning papers with so much precipitation that they set on fire the curtains of his bed-chamber. Captain Muzarelli and Bertoli were apprehended, and the former would have been murdered by the populace had not Prince Rospigliosi interfered. The brothers Galanti had made their escape. Various other persons had been arrested, and the disclosures of the prisoners, and the papers seized in their possession already throw much light on the conspiracy. The troops of the garrison and even the gendarmes, in whom the conspirators placed every confidence, fraternised with the people. Col. Dini, commanding a battalion of chasseurs, several officers of which were compromised in the plot, had visited all the posts of the national guard, and declared, with tears in his eyes, that he was totally ignorant of the designs of those officers. Dini is well known at Rome for bravery and honesty. Nobody doubts the sincerity of his assertions, or his devotedness to the order of

things established since the accession of Pius IX. The gendarmes, whom public opinion represented as most bitter against the people, have also fraternised with the national guard. Is it not surprising that so vast a conspiracy should have been discovered by the people, who watched over the maintenance of order and the safety of the Pope, rather than by the Government police? The exile of the Governor-General of Rome, and the flight of Colonel Freddi and officers compromised in the plot, proved that the police were completely ignorant of the whole matter."

Colonel Freddi was subsequently arrested at Viterbo and lodged in the Castle. The most diligent search was made to discover three or four unpopular officers who had secreted themselves somewhere in the city, or had escaped. Had they been taken, they would have been torn to pieces by the populace, even the civic guard could not have saved them from popular vengeance. As for the police, they were ob-

jects of suspicion and generally regarded as little better than hired assassins. But now that those who desired the formation of civic troops, organised like the National Guard of France, had succeeded in their intent, and saw the city entrusted to their safe keeping, it was no longer desirable that distrust and dissensions should continue to prevail between the people and the police. On the contrary, it was manifestly their policy to establish a good understanding between all classes, so as to afford their enemies no grounds for censure or pretext for intervention. The Carbineers were accordingly advised to publish an address to their fellow-citizens, the Roman people, appealing to their innate sense of justice whether it were right to involve their whole body in the guilt of a few officers, should they be found guilty of the crime with which they were charged. By this appeal the citizen soldiers were induced to extend to the police the right hand of fellowship, and they were conducted in triumph

through the streets under their protection! The sovereignty of the people was thus virtually established; the military and the police gratefully acknowledged that they were protected by the civic guard, and that from *it* was derived the power they exercised in the discharge of their ordinary duties. Several of the officers in like manner published addresses to the Roman people, denying the charges alleged against them, and begging them to suspend their judgment.

In the midst of the tumult the carriage of Cardinal Gabriel Ferretti, the new Secretary of State, entered the Porta del popolo, and while the colossal statue of his illustrious cousin was being erected in the square, the horses were taken from his vehicle, and he was drawn in triumph to the residence of the vacant functionary, and judged, with his own eyes, of the terror and indignation prevailing in the capital.

The first act of Cardinal Ferretti was to dismiss and exile, Mgr. Grassellini, the Governor of Rome, allowing him only two hours to quit

the city. M. Grassellini opposed no resistance, and instantly set out for Naples. The Pope indignant at the intention of such a crime, is said to have exclaimed, ‘ The hour of benediction is passed—that of malediction and chastisement has arrived ! ’ ”

The Cardinal signified to him in these terms his order of exile. ‘ Two hours’ time are accorded to the Abbé Grassellini to quit the territory of the States of the Church.’ A celebrated spy, Minardi, was arrested the 19th. May. A thousand men traced him from house to house from six o’clock in the evening until midnight. The effervescence was so great, that Father Ventura had to harangue the people. The celebrated preacher was reconducted to his own residence by the people, carrying torches, and shouting ‘ Long life to Cardinal Ventura ! ’ The Roman nobility, desiring to show their gratitude to the celebrated Cicerouachio for the services which he had rendered to the people of Rome, sent him a gold snuff-box of the value of about 40*l*. A grand banquet

was also offered at the Nobles' Club to this chief of the people, who has shown himself so intelligent, so brave, so devoted in many critical circumstances.

On the 22nd. July, the new Pro-Governor of Rome, the advocate Morandi, issued a proclamation which had great effect upon the people, and shortly after the new Secretary of State, Ferretti, published a document, in which he said, that, "The Pope in making known to his good people his sovereign satisfaction at the docility and obedience they had manifested to the Pro-Governor, declared solemnly that justice should be his first duty, that it should be carried into effect against disturbers of the peace, and the enemies of the sovereignty, according to the established form of law, and by means of the authorities, in order that, in the condemnation of the guilty, the innocent should not be afflicted with unmerited misfortune."

The number of persons implicated in this

conspiracy, and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo was about 80.

Diplomacy succeeded in stifling the revelation of these facts which would have reflected so much disgrace upon the Emperor of Austria and the King of Naples, and, as might have been expected, the ambassadors persuaded the Pope that his generosity should induce him to treat the conspirators as a spiritual sovereign—as a father who pardons his erring children,—when he might have hanged them as a temporal monarch armed with the severity of political laws.

In all probability nothing more will be heard of punishing the conspirators. In fact, what good could be achieved in punishing the instruments of a chief who hides himself under an imperial crown? or the conquered and crest-fallen Cardinals? besides which the people who are entitled to vengeance, soon forget their injuries in triumph, and above all when victory has put them in possession of liberty.

According to custom many stories have been constructed upon the foundation of this conspiracy. Some regard it only in the light of an interference of the Jesuits, endeavouring to produce a re-action; others the work of the discontented Cardinals; but the majority see the handicraft of Austria and Naples in an attempt to repress the onward progress of justice and liberty. That it was a fraud on the part of the Roman liberals to induce the government to arm the National Guards, is unworthy of belief—above all, when a strange coincidence, which would seem to confirm the impression of Austrian interference is taken into consideration, for on that identical day (17th July) Austrian intervention, it will be seen below, took place at Ferrara. Letters from Bologna of the 20th state, that the conspiracy discovered in Rome had ramifications in the provinces. On the 17th, the day it was to explode, two battalions of Austrian troops, of 800 men each, followed by four pieces of artillery, with lighted matches,

entered Ferrara, a city of the Pope's dominions, in the citadel of which the Austrians maintain a garrison. The soldiers had their muskets loaded, their bayonets fixed, and wore green colors in their caps. Their behaviour was most insulting, and they affected all the airs of a victorious army entering a vanquished city. The men were quartered in the barrack of San Domenico, and the officers, after an attempt to be billeted on the inhabitants, which was resisted by the Cardinal Legate, were obliged to take up their residence in the hotels. On the 19th these 'foreigners' were still in possession of the city; but their endeavours to create disorders by insolent provocations had hitherto failed of effect.

At Faenza, on the 17th, the Carbineers had attacked the people without any motive, and, but for the Swiss troops, who joined the latter, many lives would have been lost, so great was the exasperation on both sides.

At Bologna the celebration of the anniver-

sary of the amnesty was unattended with any public demonstration. In one of the churches, a Corsican, supposed to be an Austrian agent, indecently interrupted the preacher whilst he was extolling the virtues of Pius IX. He, however, failed to produce any disorder, and was suffered to escape unmolested.

Many well informed people were impressed with the idea that Louis Philippe was the instigator of the movement, and kept himself ready for the favorable moment upon which to pounce upon Civita Vecchia, as he formerly did on Ancona. If Civita Vecchia and Ancona were in his hands we should indeed despair of liberty to Italy! but we may revert to this in another chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

Organization of the National Guard...its advantages
...Machiavelli...Ancient reflections upon Italy...
Command of the Civic legions...The two soldiers
of Rome and Florence...The *Convertite* coffee-house
and that of the *Progresso*...The bust of Pius IX.
...dissolution of the Pontifical volunteers...Capa-
bility of Pius IX.

THE arming of the Civic Guard evinced a
politic intention on the part of the Sovereign
Pontiff to lean for the future not upon the sup-
port of the high ecclesiastical aristocracy alone,
still less upon that of the populace, but upon

the middle classes of society, the members of liberal professions, the proprietors and principal tenants of houses, artists, and tradesmen. That part of the noblesse which had until this period been averse to the policy of the Pope, seeing the general reconciliation, made a favorable advance, and now wished to shew themselves more devoted than the people, in their desire suitably to efface their errors. The organization of the national guard became the great pivot in the regeneration of Italy; for it was the participation of the people in the constituent public force, which made them free, for, in truth, an armed and disciplined people, capable of sustaining the first shock of troops of the line, may be regarded as a free people. A householder who carries a musket is the guardian of order and liberty, from the position of a subject he becomes a citizen.

The decree organising the Citizen Militia was a very politic act, notwithstanding its being an appeal to the bayonet; but happily there

exists in the masses of the Roman population, a native dignity, which is susceptible of the most generous sentiments, and we may predict that from henceforth the pontifical appeal will be understood, and responded to, as it should be, by a nation worthy of liberty.

The National Guard will save Italy. In the presence of the calm and resolute determination of those who feel a direct interest in the maintenance of tranquillity, the sinister views of agitators, will be confounded by this important institution, whilst the crimes of the malefactors who rush to Rome from all parts of the provinces will be diminished by the watchfulness of the force, and the confidence of the people. The institution of the civic guard, or its installation in the Palace of the Cardinals was not however sufficient, it still required to be attached to Rome by that holy thought which assured its perpetuity, and consolidated its existence—the ecclesiastics themselves having commenced and followed its movements, and their co-opera-

tion having received the cordial approbation of the people and the Pope ; the institution, thus animated by the spiritual and real efforts of the Church, by the press, which has developed all its important advantages, by the concurrence of the Princes, and the almost universal applause of the whole of Europe, will, beyond a doubt, prove a lasting monument of glory to new Italy.

We remarked in the first volume of this history, that “ Pius IX, has ancient Rome, with Romulus and Cæsar.” let us now see what said the great political writer of the seventeenth Century, Nicolo Machiavelli—

“ Our unfortunate country waits a liberation which will put an end to the devastations of Lombardy, Tuscany, and the kingdom of Naples ; she demands of Heaven, a Prince, who will free her from the odious and humiliating yoke of foreigners ; who will close the numerous sores with which she is afflicted, and under whose standard she may march against her cruel oppressors.

“ Nothing more honors a new Prince than the new

laws, and new institutions which he establishes, when they are good, and imprint a character of grandeur."

"Italy lends herself essentially to new forms. Her inhabitants do not want courage, they want chiefs."

"If your illustrious house (continuing to address himself to Julius II, de Medicis) would act after the example of your ancestors who delivered their country from foreign domination, it ought, before all things, to institute a national militia, the only force whose goodness and fidelity can be relied upon; for although each soldier in particular were good, they all become better when they see their own Prince himself lead them to battle, honor them and reward them. It is therefore necessary to have troops levied in their native country, if you would place yourself beyond the reach of foreign invasion.

"The occasion which presents itself, is too opportune to permit it to escape; it is time that Italy should see its chains broken."

"And with what demonstrations of joy and gratitude would they receive their liberator, these beautiful provinces, which have so long groaned under odious foreign domination?—What city would shut its gates?—what people would be blind enough to refuse to obey him? what rivals would he have to fear? Is there an Italian who would not hasten to do him homage? All are sick of barbarian dominion."

The institution of the Civic Guard produced the greatest consternation at Vienna. Pius IX. had sealed his work ; he had no longer the power to destroy it, had he even wished it. The Prince Torlonia commanded a battalion ; the Prince Corsini was seen at the head of the brigade of Transteverini ;* the Prince Piombino took the command of the Colonna division ; the celebrated Archeologist Campana, was Colonel of a district ; Prince Salviati had, under his orders, the battalion of the *Campo Martio*, in which the famous Angelo Brunetti, (*Cicerouacchio*) held the rank of Captain.

Rome soon recovered its former tranquillity the emotion occasioned by the discovery of the conspiracy of the retrograde party was soon calmed under the wise and loyal conduct of

* The Transteverini, inhabitants of the right bank of the Tiber, regard themselves as the legitimate descendents of the ancient Romans.

the superior authorities and principally of Cardinal Ferretti and the temporary Governor Morandi. Pius IX. has observed on several occasions that the conspiracy had tended more than any other event of his reign to consolidate and strengthen his throne, and that his confidence in his people after the proofs they had given of their devotion to his person had put the seal upon his happiness.

The following anecdote will afford a very just idea of the patriotic sentiments which reigned at Rome at the period in question. A Florentine national guard in his Tuscan uniform was fraternising with a Roman national guard at the *Caf  del Convertite* upon the *Corso*. The uniform of the one, and the boisterous merriment of both, attracted the attention of the crowds in the narrow room of the Coffee-house; so much so, that its usual frequenters, who did not enjoy the reputation of liberalism at Rome, could not keep their places. Mine host desiring to preserve his old customers, was imprudent enough to turn the two national

guards out of his house, the result of which was that a large crowd of noisy people collected round the door, when Cicerouacchio, accompanied by two *aide-de-camp*, arrived upon the spot.

“What is it?—what has happened?” said the captain to the rioters.

They told him what had occurred, and he no sooner heard it, than he determined upon his course of action. He entered the café, and thus addressed the host:—

“Ah, signor—so you receive the *obscurantists*, and when two patriots honour your house with their presence, you turn them out of doors. Very well, sir, do as you like; but know that this bust of Pius IX. can no longer be permitted to remain in such bad company; we shall therefore carry it away with us.

Upon which they seized a marble bust of the Pope, which was on a conscle, crowned it with flowers, lighted their torches, and marched in triumph to the nearest guard-house, where it was deposited.

The host was obliged to shut up his shop; every body hissed and hooted at him as they passed, while the usual frequenters of his house would not venture there again, for fear of the popular excitement. Thus, the landlord, in his desire to please and retain his old customers, lost both old and new, and his trade into the bargain. A short time afterwards; he went to the guard-house, and requested to see the chief of the people.

“Well,” said Cicerouacchio, coming forward; “what do you want?”

“That I may at least have back my bust,” replied the man in tears.

“Nothing is more easy,” said Cicerouacchio; “change your sign into the ‘*Café del progresso*,’ give fifty piastres towards providing uniforms for the national guard—promise never again to receive the *obscurantists*.”

“I will—I will,” said mine host, who saw in this plan an escape from the ruin he had anticipated, and he lost no time in carrying his

promise into execution, without having any reason to regret it, for not only was the bust of Pius IX. returned in the evening, but the crowds of people who frequented the *Café del progresso* that night more than compensated him for all his losses.

The organization of the national guard at Rome, and in the provinces, rendered the disbanding of the corps of pontifical volunteers necessary, throughout the four legations. The congregation of bishops, in transmitting this decision to the Prefects, desired them to avail themselves of the influence of the clergy to induce the volunteers peaceably to surrender their arms, and bring them back to a sense of their duty. This intervention on the part of the congregation attests the importance with which the government regarded the suppression of an irregular force, organized in a moment of necessity, and which might one day cause it considerable embarrassment, unless haste were made in the institution of a civic militia. Such

a precautionary measure clearly demonstrated the earnestness of the Pope to defend his rights, in the event of any foreign attack, and that he was resolved to maintain the liberty of action, and not incur the risk of being driven, by mistaken zeal, into any collision capable of furnishing a pretext for foreign intervention.

Peace and order were absolutely indispensable to insure to the Sovereign Pontiff the success of that colossal undertaking to which he had given his name, for how could he give effect to his sentiments and his projects, if his labours were incessantly tramelled by disorders which would be the strongest arguments in the mouths of his enemies? The powerful ascendancy of his mind seems to triumph over all difficulties. He persuaded the Italians of this great political truth—that each day of peace and repose is of vital importance to the progress of real reform and true liberty, and that it is in the peaceable development of the germs; that revolutions bring forth the good fruit of futurity.

If Italy could ever have enjoyed forty years' tranquillity, it would probably have been one of the best governed and most flourishing countries of Europe; but when the thunder-clap which shivered the crown of St. Louis, shook the thrones of all the sovereigns of Europe, when the revolutionary propaganda presented itself upon the summit of the Alps, crowned with the cap of liberty, a sentiment of danger induced Clement XIV., the Grand Duke Leopold, and the Princes of Turin and Naples, who were sincere reformers in their hearts, to retrograde; and notwithstanding the prestige of the victories of Montenotte and Arcola, the Italians rejected the freedom which was offered them at the point of the bayonet. Victory had scarcely abandoned the imperial eagles when all Italy rose up, and the Parthenopian, Roman, and Cisalpine republics which had been founded by the sword, crumbled into dust in an instant; but the faults of his predecessors will serve as lessons to Pius IX.

He will take his stand and his strength upon the soil of Italy, and will demand of foreign powers the aid which is necessary to sustain his reforms. People are not seized easily with platonic love for other nations—it is a phenomenon which has never existed upon earth.

Three centuries ago, Machiavelli taught the Italians the value of foreign protection. To change masters or protectors is not a step towards independence, we must therefore admire the good sense of Pius IX. who, without looking beyond the states of the church, has formed armies of sufficient moral force to render any appeal to his neighbours unnecessary, and has given arms to the Romans, not for the attack of adjoining nations, but to protect the tranquil liberty of Rome.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Cabinets of Vienna and Rome—Remonstrances of the Count Lutzow...Policy of Austria...Occupation of Ferrara...Marechal de Tessé and Pope Clement XI....The Austrian Major and Cardinal Ciacchi...Émeutes at Bologna and Modena...Congress of Vienna—The real policy of Austria—Reflexions upon the counter revolution—Will Italy ever become Austrian? The conduct of the citizen king—Count Ferretti and the citizens—Count Rossi and Pius IX.—The British Cabinet—Death of Graziosi—The new Rabbi—The Jews of Galata.

THE spirit of effervescence which predominated throughout Italy by reason of the political progress of the Pontifical Government, and the very little satisfaction the Emperor of Austria obtained from the numerous diplomatic notes forwarded to the Pope, were causes of serious annoyance to the Cabinet of Vienna, ever uneasy upon the subject of its Lombardo Vene-

tian territories. The Count Lutzow having for several months fruitlessly remonstrated upon the political tendencies of the Papal reforms, now added menaces to his representations, while secretly the Austrian police aided and abetted the authors of the conspiracy we have so lately detailed.

In the meantime the Pope proceeded steadily on his path, dealing with the abuses of the old system with that wisdom which has marked all his proceedings.

The first and most important has been the clearing out of the public offices, by the dismissal of many *employés* obstinately wedded to the old system of administration, and consequently in the way of all substantial reforms. Nor has this step been confined to clerks or holders of inferior situations. Captain Plyfler, Commander of the Swiss Guards, has been dismissed, in consequence of the state of his accounts. But the most important case is that of Monsignor Pallavicini, a nobleman of high

family, who held the post of Majordomo, or Lord Chamberlain, an office which till now has always led to the Cardinal's hat. But from the beginning of this Pontificate, this high officer of the household has shown himself opposed to every measure, and personally offensive to his master. He has at length been dismissed, and has quitted Rome.

But the conduct of Austria now began to manifest inself more openly, and she boldly undertook the invasion of the Roman States, precedents for which were not wanting in the history of the past, as well as of the present century.

The first invasion took place in 1708, during the war of succession, at the moment when the policy of Louis XIV. appeared so menacing for the Arch-Duke and his allies; until that period nothing could turn the Pope from his devotion to the cause of Philip V., and the House of Austria had made ineffectual efforts to obtain from the Vatican, the submission of

her rival. Austria then soon found a pretext for interference, and she determined to compel the Clergy of Parma and Placentia to pay subsidies for her troops.

But Clement XI. resisted with glory against the entry of her troops into these duchies, and lanced the thunders of excommunication against the army of invasion, and all who served in it—Clement resisted also the occupation of Ferrara and Comacchio, to the point of opposing force to force, and he addressed the following appeal to the Swiss Cantons, by means of the Papal Nuncio, in order to effect a levy of 3,000 men for the service of the Roman States :

“ The Sovereign Pontiff, whose states have recently been unjustly invaded by the Imperial Army, which has penetrated into the Duchy of Ferrara, finds himself compelled to seek the immediate assistance of Divine Providence and the force of arms for his defence. His Holiness solicits from the piety of Catholic princes that support which he has a right to expect.”

Marshal de Tessé, the French Ambassador at Rome offered the alliance of his master and of the Italian princes in favour of the Pope; but the Austrian Army was marching onwårds all this time, and its Ambassador obtained an audience of the Sovereign Pontiff, who signed a treaty of disarmament and the cession of Comacchio to an imperial garrison. The Archduke was shortly afterwards recognised as King of Spain by a secret treaty—Marshal Tessé, indignant at such treachery, immediately quitted the Roman states. One hundred and eight years after this event, in 1816, Austria executed a treaty with this court, which interdicted the concession of constitutional principles. In 1820, Austria renewed its interference at Naples to give effect to the treaty. In 1821 Austrian intervention was witnessed again in Piedmont; and in 1831 in central Italy. Since that period, her agents have exercised a strict surveillance upon all the governments of Italy, made out the lists of proscriptions, and undertook

the imprisonment, in the dungeons of Vienna, of the Italians, who were not even her own subjects. On the 5th of August, 1847, under the imaginary pretext that one of their officers had been insulted; the Austrians caused patrols to parade the city of Ferrara, and on the 13th, the Austrian army took possession of the city, as she did one hundred and thirty-nine years before.

An Austrian major, escorted by a piquet of cavalry, and accompanied by two adjutants, came first of all to demand the surrender of the place of the cardinal legate, but in a manner insulting to the honour of the Tiara, and that of the city itself. The Cardinal was informed by these soldiers that the army was about to execute a manœuvre in the interior of the city, by order of their government, and they asked him, in consequence, to publish a proclamation of such a nature as would tranquillise the minds of the population of Ferrara, in respect to this military evolution. The Cardinal

replied, that he would not deceive his fellow-citizens, and he called upon the Austrians to respect the treaties existing, protesting, at the same time, against their invasion, the consequences of which he threw upon their government.*

The Major and his officers retired, but not without menacing the Cardinal with the resentment of their government. At about eleven-o'clock two battalions entered the city, with the artillery and lighted matches; one was a battalion of chasseurs, and the other a regiment of Hungary. At the same time a body of Hussars took up a position to the left upon the esplanade in front of the fortress; on the right were planted three pieces of field artillery, guarded by the horse artillery. The

* The Pope approved the protest, notwithstanding the ambassadors of Austria and France endeavoured to deter him, and as soon as the fact was known, nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the people.

cannons of the fortress were pointed upon the town, and the gunners were ready at the first signal to bombard it. While a body of hussars was going towards the principal square, in passing by the *Volta del Cavallo* a cry of *Viva Pio Nono* was heard, when the troops halted, and made ready to fire upon the people. It would be difficult to describe the confusion which this movement created : the houses and shops were all closed in a moment, and the merchants upon the square decamped like lightning. In the meanwhile the Austrians placed a small corps of pontifical volunteers at the *Palazzo de giustizia*, and took possession of the guard-house ; while other soldiers were sent precipitately beyond the gates, which they passed without performing the customary military honors, in order to double the guard at the Palace of the Legate. During these proceedings the Austrian army continued to take possession successively, and without opposition, of all the gates of the city, as well of the military posts,

except the guard-house of the Palace, and the prison where the pontifical volunteers and the citizens kept guard. Several ammunition wag-gons arrived and bridges were thrown over the Po to facilitate the passage of the troops, notwithstanding the protests of the Cardinal Legate. The news produced a profound sensation at Bologna and Modena, where numerous arrests were made as a pretext for calling for the entrance of the Austrian troops into the duchy, and assembling them in the neighbourhood of Tuscany. Sicily, Calabria, and the Abruzzi, provinces contiguous to the states of the Church, were in a state of indescribable excitement upon receiving the intelligence of the institution of the National Guard, the convocation of deputies from the provinces, and the capture of Ferrara; the one event so closely following the other.

On the 17th August the Governor of Rome also protested against the occupation of Ferrara.

We may now ask—what were the rights of Austria in the Roman States?

At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the members of this assembly regulated the interests of the Holy See as follows—Article 103—

“The Marches, with Camerino and their dependencies, as well as the Duchy of Benevento, and the principality of Ponte Corvo, are restored to the Holy See.

“The Holy See will re-enter into possession of the Legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the exception of that portion of the Ferrarais, which is situated on the left bank of the Po.

“His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and his successors, shall have a right of garrison in the *places* of Ferrara and Comacchio (*auront droit de garnison, dans les places de Ferrare et de Comacchio.*”)

Such, then, was the right of Austria, neither more nor less; but again we may ask, how was it obtained? Why, by the prayers and entreaties of the Cabinet of Vienna, notwithstanding the noble and energetic resistance of

Cardinal Consalvi, for nothing could then resist the importunity of Austria, who stated that she desired only the means of preserving peace, and the Congress benevolently accorded the rights above named, that she might, in case of necessity, defend the frontier of the Po, and secure the passage of that river, in order to ward off the danger of attack from a powerful enemy in case of war. It was again in arrogating precisely similar motives that the Cabinet of Vienna obtained the valleys of the *Valtelline* of Bormeo and of Chiavenne on the Swiss frontier, and it is from the same cause that she surrounded herself with estates protected on the frontier by the Po, that she established a collateral branch of the imperial house at Modena; that she declared an Archduchess sovereign for life of Parma, and that she only abandoned the reversion of this estate to the heirs of the infant who reigned at Lucca, after a long struggle.

What were the real motives of Austria in

this last invasion of Ferrara? Certainly the occupation of this city, with a great military force, its occupation as a conquered place, with piquets stationed at a considerable distance in the country, who insulted the civic guard, and impudently braved the Cardinal Legate, in no way responds to the intentions of the authors of the treaty of Vienna in 1815. They did not concede the right as an offensive arm—as a means of intimidation against the Holy See—there must have been some other hidden and secret intention—in fact, Austria, after having been so generously endowed, after having profited so largely by the spoils of the French empire, had not the modesty to be contented with the part she had adjudged to herself.

The Austrians replied to the protestations of Cardinal Ciacchi, to the letter of the treaty of 12th June, 1815, but it was not sincere, for there is not in Europe one man, except Prince Metternich, who, believes, *bona fide*, that it

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was purely accidental that Austria waited the commencement of the reign of Pius IX., in order to put forth pretensions so long neglected, for the occupation of Ferrara. Austria could not in the 19th century, and in the face of nations, proclaim that her object was to violate the independence of other States; but under the pretext of protecting herself, she has always been disposed to employ trick or violence, which ever best suited her purpose, against the public and the governments of Italy—and her past conduct has been in keeping with her bearing upon this occasion.

When good faith is dried up, when no positive and defined rights of people are recognised, the only rule of conduct is the exclusive interest of a domination established by force; and this is the position of Austria, who may yet learn that absolute powers cannot suppress, by the bayonet, the spirit of freedom which now displays itself throughout the Italian peninsula.

We can understand that Austria, menaced with downfall, should she ever lose her possessions upon the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, (for in these days there are no riches, power, or commerce, without a navy,) would revive the destinies of Venice, which is her inheritance. She wishes for subjects, those who possess the coasts and the ports which formerly belonged to the republic of Genoa—in fact the whole Italian peninsula appears to her to be the only limit of her expectations. In allowing Russia to occupy the coasts of the Black Sea, of which she might have possessed herself, constrained to cede the mouth of the Danube, the provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, and the approaches to Constantinople, Austria, feels herself compelled to turn her ambitious views towards Italy, whose sea-ports are rendered necessary to the maintenance of her power. It is not then extraordinary that she threatens and attacks the States of the Peninsula, but it still remains to be proved whether all her railroads, which con-

verge towards Trieste, will be diverted from their primitive object, and serve alone the conveyance of soldiers and ammunition. In her endeavours to realize this monster project, which is luckily but a dream, Austria has profited by the recent Papal election to sow discord and excite rebellion in the Roman States by its police, and under the pretext of the counter-revolution, she tells the Pope that her interference is to protect him against his people, against revolutionary demagogues, and finally advances her troops throughout Italy, revolted not against their Princes, but against invading Austria and those Italian princes only, who disposed to make concessions to their subjects, have, as in the time of Napoleon, re-commenced a league against liberty. The attitude of the petty princes, as well as that of the King of Naples, confirms this opinion, and if Pius IX. had lost his balance—had he wavered or suffered himself to be thrown off his guard, the project had not been so difficult to achieve; for the

power of Austria, notwithstanding her losses in Italy, is still colossal, by reason of her territories, her troops, and her family alliances with Naples, Sardinia, Bavaria, Russia, Wirtemberg, &c., and the immense resources she can bring into play. Thus, on all sides it has been asked with alarm,—what was to become of Italy? At one time, this country, so full of grand associations, heard the high-sounding words of glory and liberty, but it was liberty intended only to teach them servitude! and the glory was snatched from them in an instant by the flight of the eagle to be raised on high, that it might fall back again into the deepest abyss! Laws and constitutions have been thrown at the heads of its princes—they have been snatched away again by a treaty, a conquest, a caprice, or a defeat. One day Italy thought itself a kingdom, but on waking in the morning, a congress had stamped upon its forehead the grossest injustice which ever signalised the eventful history of Europe. Will

Italy ever again become Austrian, as it was under the reign of Gregory XVI? When it was asked in the time of this Pope, what was Italy? the reply was—"It is Austria"—In fact there is but one right in politics, that of the stronger party, and not that of justice—and generally strength is diplomacy. Italy expected liberty from France; the first shot fired by that country was to save her, but this first shot was not and could not be fired. If the King of the French contributed to the election of the Pope, it was only to acquire influence in Italy, to talk big to Austria and Naples, menace them with a political regeneration, and obtain from them an acquiescence in his pitiful policy in Spain. Italy was sacrificed under cover of a false protection, of an interest purely dynastic. The Cabinet of the Tuilleries desired so ardently to have Austria and Naples on its side, in a negotiation which could not fail to wound the pride of England, at the same time that she became its dupe, that

it was compelled to make still greater sacrifices. It is not very long ago when there was no chance for the liberty of Italy—the citizen King would not permit the police of the Roman States to be undertaken by the Austrian soldiers, and, despite the Pope, his legions took possession of the Citadel of Ancona. Now that liberty is roused, and the Austrians reappear in the Pontifical States, notwithstanding the patriotic protestations of their Sovereign, Louis Philippe allows them to proceed without molestation. This Prince would have desired that the Pope had addressed his protest to the powers who signed the treaty of Vienna, rather than involve his subjects in a quarrel, which ought never to have been treated otherwise than diplomatically. To whom should the Poles address themselves? To whom should the Cracovians address themselves?—it is for Louis Philippe to reply to these questions. It would have been curious to see the part the Citizen King would have

acted, if the Austrian General had, like General Miollis, in 1806, forced an entry into the Eternal City, disarmed the guard, and taken possession of the Castle of St. Angelo, it would, we say, have been curious to see how he would have treated diplomatically with a power in possession of an army of 150,000 men !

Austria, emboldened by the hope that her concessions in favor of the dynasty of Louis Philippe upon the crown of Spain, merited something in return, believed herself sufficiently strong for any project, while the Cabinet of the Tuilleries reserved to itself the power of soon turning against German Austria, and later against Naples, if they should happen to fail in their counter-revolutionary project.

At Rome all was animation ; the people on their side manifested with energy their patriotic feelings on hearing of the new outrage committed by Austria. Lists of subscriptions for the defence of the territory were covered with names. Cicerouacchio had circulated several

among the people, and there was not a single Roman but was ready to respond to the appeal of his beloved Sovereign, should it be necessary, to repel by force a foreign invasion. At a meeting of citizens, Count Ferretti, brother to the Cardinal Secretary of State, expressed himself with his usual frankness and firmness respecting the intentions of the government, which, he exclaimed amidst universal applause, was determined to support its rights by every possible means, and to the last extremity.

M. Rossi, having offered to the Pope the mediation of France, relative to the occupation of Ferrara, he replied that, considering himself seriously offended, he would not be satisfied with an ordinary arrangement, but should insist on obtaining a complete satisfaction. The Pope is still the greatest and sublimest moral power of our time. It is impossible to say how far the effects of that power might extend, and if Pius IX., in his indignation against the tyrants of his country, took it into his head to

make a trial of it, who could foresee the consequences of that holy revolt of the mind against brute force? There is no doubt that in the crusade, which may be preached at this moment of crisis, one-half of Italy would follow, with enthusiasm, the labarum of Rome to free the other half."

The commotion in the various places of public assembly was at its height, and the wrongs of their countrymen, the Ferrarese, a theme of indignant outpouring in the saloon of the palace, as in the wine-shop of the *facchini*. It was known that the youth of Bologna had proposed to advance on Ferrara, and, the 18th, lists were opened for the enrolment of all who would volunteer to march in the same direction. In three hours the state of the poll at one booth (the Cafè Ruspoli) showed a muster of 3,000 citizens of every rank willing to quit their homes to the rescue of their frontier town, or perish in the doing. At this stage of the proceedings Cardinal Ferretti's carriage was

announced, and in person he came to entreat the committee to cease that enrolment, for "strong in the dignity and justice of the Pope's cause, he looked with scorn on the brutal ferocity of his bullying adversaries, and would bide the result."

Nevertheless, the greater part of the constitutional States of Europe would do nothing, or could do nothing, for Rome, so long as the chiefs had not armed themselves for the combat. During this period of incertitude, so dangerous, the Pope never wavered in the determination which was requisite for the defence of the great cause which Providence had placed in his hands. On the contrary, the invasion of his States opened a new career in his life, that of true glory; and we shall see that Pius IX. extricated himself from the difficulties of his position, in a way which reflected the greatest honor upon his judgment and talent. The Sovereign Pontiff seems to have said to Austria, "I have Italy behind me, and Europe be-

hind Italy. If kings suffer my states to be invaded, they will be placed under the ban of nations." This calm and peaceful display of moral force, gave cause for reflection upon the future state of Austria, and excited, at the same time, a universal sentiment of alliance throughout Italy. The papal Nuncio at Vienna may henceforth raise his voice when speaking to Prince Metternich. One step further on the part of Austria, and Europe had been on fire. To the glory of the British Cabinet, history must attest, how promptly England came forward to the succour of the threatened liberties of Rome. It was her powerful protection which saved Italy in 1847—the promise of Great Britain was magical in its effect, a promise not written officially, but it existed, and that sufficed. Henceforth nothing will deter Pius IX. from effecting the happiness of Italy and the stability of the Italian institutions. Woe to those princes who will not understand this movement, this calm, yet desperate

struggle of the Pope against the German Empire in the cause of the liberty and independence of the Italian Peninsula! woe to the princes who do not behold in Pius IX. another Gregory the Great, who bowed down to the very earth the heads of the most powerful sovereigns of the age in which he lived.

The events of Ferrara produced reactions very favorable to the Pope, above all in the Sacred College. The Cardinals, animated with better sentiments, were now disposed to second the reforms of the supreme head of the church, and this reconciliation of the Sacred College, which is reciprocated by all the religious corporations, cannot fail to paralise the ambitious views of the Cabinet of Vienna. The part taken by the priesthood in general within the last few years is a fact worthy of a place in the history of the regeneration of Italy.

The schism of the Bishop of Pistoia had instilled a feeling of independence into all the ecclesiastics of Italy. At Naples, for instance,

the Archbishop of Tarentum had evinced the most courageous opposition, and the true philosophy of christianity, and latterly no revolutionary movements have displayed themselves in the Neapolitan provinces, where the priests have not been found to take part with the people. The prisons and the galleys (filled to suffocation with political offenders) number hordes of priests amongst the sufferers for opinion, and many of the clergy died heroically in the cause of liberty in 1827. At the period of the affair of Ferrara, the Legate of Prouse published a manifesto which proves that the cause of liberty had made rapid progress amongst all classes of Italians.

The appearance of a British fleet upon the coasts of the Pontifical states is an extraordinary fact in the annals of that nation. A political demonstration of this nature on the part of a protestant power in favor of liberty, is of the highest importance, above all when considered in juxta position to the conduct of

Louis P'hilippe, who has exposed the national character of his country to dishonor, by abandoning Italy in her first struggles in favor of those principles which are sacred to the rights of civilization.

Louis Philippe would not recognise the popular feeling in 1831, when the revolutionist Menotti, (the manner of whose death has been rendered painfully celebrated), placed himself at the head of a conspiracy which failed at the onset, then became triumphant, although it had all the character of revolt,* and he would

* This conspiracy was a war to the knife against the governments of Italy. The insurgents had no sooner driven away the Grand Duke of Modena than they delivered his palace over to pillage. The Custom-house was suppressed. The Duchess of Parma was invited to quit her throne ; and the temporal authority of the Pope was abolished. This rapid revolutionary movement communicated itself to Ferrara, Ancona, and Forli, everywhere the governments were struck with fear at the prospect of one grand Italian republic.

not then earn the gratitude of the Sovereign Pontiff.

It is impossible to imagine anything more despicable or more humiliating for France, than the conduct of its government in the affair of Ferrara. We could have understood a perfect neutrality on her part, but not a policy entirely wanting character, a policy which proposes nothing, does nothing, appearing to encourage one day, that which it censures the next ; a policy in fact, which, instead of directing events, waits only their result, in order to pay court to the victor, and perhaps to oppress the vanquished — such conduct will ever be stamped with treason to the cause of Italy, and her offers of service when no longer necessary, the supply of muskets when peace was proclaimed, will not impose even upon the most ordinary minds, who know that upon all such occasions things have no value unless they are opportune. Without the noble and vigorous conduct of Great Britain, and that support which

shut out hope from the tyrannous Princes of Italy, Heaven only knows what might have been the fate of the Peninsula. The entrance of the Austrians had, in all probability, served for the commencement of a series of new oppressions. The Pope would have given his passport to Count Lutzow, and withdrawn his Legate from Vienna, and would have ended by fulminating excommunication against the Emperor, and have called upon all Austrian Catholics to march against the despot who had attempted the dignity of the Tiara.

War was now declared against Austria, but it is the war of opinion, of liberal ideas, more prejudicial than the thunder of cannon. The population of Italy is hostile to her by their new principles, by their exaltation, by the powerful and imposing unity of their views, by the admirable junction of their efforts. Henceforth there will be no widely scattered tribes, no fragments of a people divided by different and dissimilar interests and opinions ;

the governments, the allies, Sardinia, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples have abandoned her, to avoid being abandoned by their own subjects.

In the month of August the events of Rome produced great excitement. The first was owing to a report, instantly contradicted, that an attempt had been made upon the life of Pius IX., and although it turned out to be unfounded, such was the irrepressible feeling of the people in their desire to return thanks to God for the preservation of the good Pontiff's days, and to pray for the long continuance of his invaluable life, that a solemn service was celebrated in the Church of St. Anthony.

While these events were passing, another of a different character, the death of the Abbé Graziosi, occurred at Rome on the same day, the 22nd of August, by which the Pope lost one of his most intimate friends, and the country one of its best citizens. The Abbé Graziosi was considered the most sincere, and

faithful confidant of Pius IX., and he, aided by the energy of his character, to fortify the less resolute mind of his sovereign in circumstances of difficulty. Formerly preceptor to the young Mastai Ferretti, he placed himself, by his talents, at the head of the secular Clergy of Rome, and acquired great consideration and esteem by his disinterestedness and indifference to ecclesiastical preferment. Neglected during the reign of Gregory XVI., he was named Canon of St. John de Lateran as soon as his pupil was elevated to the papal chair, and was appointed his confessor. All enlightened people augured well of the presence of a man of such learning, experience, and public spirit about the person of the Pontiff; and death alone has destroyed the hopes which were reposed in him. His funeral was attended not only with all the pomp and ceremony which are usually displayed towards the deceased Princes of the Church, but with the sincere grief of the inhabitants, who, with

the National Guard, all of whom wore deep mourning, not having received their uniform, followed the body to its last resting place; the funeral procession traversing in its passage to the Grand Church of the Lateran, the Corso, the heights of the Capitol, passing the Forum and the Colosseum, the vaulted arches of the Flavian Amphitheatre resounding with the solemn chaunts for the dead. It was evident, from the feeling displayed by the people on this melancholy occasion, that in paying this last tribute of respect to the remains of the Abbé Graziosi, they intended also to honor the Sovereign Pontiff to whom the deceased was so warmly attached.

At this period an event, connected with the rites of the Jewish faith, of a highly interesting character, took place at Rome.

The new Chief Rabbi of the Jews, Israel Kassin, who had come from the borders of Genessareth, with a high reputation for sanctity, and Talmudic lore, was installed in the

Ghetto, in the place of Rabbi Beher, who died twelve years ago, and was the last High Priest of the Jews in the Eternal City. He took the chair of Moses clothed in a tunic of violet silk and a black mantle; and, among other ceremonies, a prayer for the Pope, composed by the new Chief Rabbi, in pure Hebrew, and in a Psalmodic rhythm, was solemnly repeated.

When the news of this ceremony having taken place at Rome arrived at Constantino-ple, it created a great sensation. The Jews of Galata assembled in September to celebrate one of their religious feasts, when a member of their community eulogised the liberal sentiments of the Pope, who has so greatly ameliorated the condition of the Jews of Rome in regard to the reduction of taxes which pressed heavily upon them, and their obligation to reside in the Ghetto, in such eloquently grateful terms, that the whole assembly rose spontaneously and gave expression to their feelings in loud and continued cries of "Long live Pius IX."

We now approach an event in the life of Pius IX., fraught with the deepest interest to the people of this country; one which has already called forth expressions of doubt and discontent; has created a feeling of jealousy and heart-burning for the present, and sentiments of suspicion and alarm for the future; a question upon which those who had heretofore willingly bestowed their unqualified praise upon the noble acts and liberal concessions to public rights and liberties which had distinguished the Sovereign of Rome, now withheld from him the crowning praise of policy and propriety.

It must be evident to our readers that we allude to the Pope's encyclical letter to the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland upon the subject of education, and the godless colleges. The letter itself, as an historical document, has been printed and published in so many forms that we do not feel it necessary to insert it in these pages; but we cannot avoid making a few

remarks upon the all-exciting subject to which it refers ; notwithstanding the difficulties by which it is surrounded, and notwithstanding our conscientious belief as to the impolicy and imprudence which suggested to the Pope the open assumption of temporal interference in the concerns of Great Britain, particularly at a period when the kind sympathy of a great, but jealous, protestant nation was exerting so valuable an influence in favour of its spiritual adversary.

The question of education in Ireland is all-absorbing ; it presents to the cautious observer a double aspect of the most intense interest, because it has reference to all that is moral and religious, and all that is most imperious in policy. It regards also, at the same time, a foreign power—the Sovereign of Rome and Romanism, and Great Britain, the Sovereign of Protestantism, which is doubly interested in maintaining her institutions conformably to the laws and constitution of that country with which the other has no right to interfere.

Ever since the existence of churches, they have aspired exclusively to the direction of education, and long reigned triumphantly sovereign but when the civil power became well constituted and consolidated, it naturally demanded a participation in the direction and dissemination of that engine which was to develop the character and have so powerful an influence over the actions of the citizen—an object fully as important to the civil authorities as the salvation of souls to the ministers of Religion. For the common weal, the association of the spiritual and civil powers became intimate, and their union inseparable, with this great distinction, however, that while the former claimed the indemnity of God against errors of omission or commission—the latter had a fearful amount of responsibility to render to society.

The seat of ecclesiastical power was established at Rome, where alone the Pope reigned in the double capacity of a temporal and spiritual sovereign over his own immediate

subjects ; still, as regards the Roman Catholics of the whole universe, his authority became supreme as a spiritual sovereign, governing according to his own views, levying taxes, imposing laws and institutions, rules and regulations altogether different from those of other nations, over whom he sought and does exercise a powerful influence. Can it be doubted for a moment that this influence is now at work in Ireland, where, however anomalous it may appear, eight millions of British subjects own their subjection to a foreign power, although civilly and politically bound to the crown of England ? And has not the crown, then, the just right to regulate its own affairs at home—that of setting a strict watch upon the education of its people, not only those who belong to its own creed, but of all who live under the empire of its laws, who enjoy the rights of citizens, participate in the benefit of those public institutions which are endowed by the public purse, and founded for the public benefit ?

Is there, we may ask, anything so widely different in the constitution of men's minds in this country as to render the enactment of laws, similar in their bearings to those of almost all the continental powers, impracticable—particularly those of the most enlightened nation, after England, on the face of the globe, where, under the guidance of a minister of public instruction, the godless colleges prosper to the perfect content and satisfaction of a whole community of nearly forty millions of Roman Catholics? Besides, unless the policy of the priests of Ireland differ widely from that of their excellent brethren of England, to what end can the exclusiveness they demand tend, but the preservation of those distinctions between the subjects of the same crown, which are as opposed to the doctrines of christianity as they are antagonistical to true policy? Public education is a question of too vital an importance for the happiness and growing prosperity of a nation, to be rejected upon sec-

tarian principles or prejudices, and the protestant statesmen who, to their eternal honour, have so benevolently brought forward a measure for the extension of education and thereby of human happiness, deserve the thanks of all classes and all sects, for conceding, in so liberal and enlightened a manner, all spiritual controul over the objects of their fostering care, and of the public bounty. Had Pius IX. been well-informed upon this subject he would have hesitated ere he sent his encyclical letter to the Bishops of Ireland. He who has displayed such liberal policy at home, surely cannot desire, in this age of enlightenment, to revive the papal pretensions of the middle ages, and, above all, to the detriment of a country which was the first, indeed the only power to succour and protect him in the hour of need, not from any deep political after-thought, not from interested motives—for these would have induced her to tender the hand of union to France, Austria, and Russia, the oppressors

of Roman liberty—but from the generous impulse of public opinion, sympathy, and affection towards a nation struggling for independence, and towards a sovereign, without reference to his religion, who so nobly seeks the regeneration of his country, and the restoration of its once resplendent fame.

During the eventful career of the great Pontiff, this is the only act which has called upon us, as his biographers, to cast even the shadow of a shade of censure upon his policy, and it is upon its impolicy only that we are called upon to decide. The language of the encyclical letter, as well as its arguments, are identical with those of the English conservative party in reference to the establishment of the godless colleges, and it must also be borne in mind that the advice to the Irish priesthood, in the letter in question, upon the subject of political agitation, must have emanated from the most friendly disposition of the Pope towards England, and his desire for the main-

tenance of peace and order in Ireland. We trust that the speedy establishment of diplomatic relations between the courts of St. James's and the Vatican will at once, and for ever, put an end to such impolitic proceedings. We trust that the spirit of reform which has enlightened the vigorous intellect of the Roman Sovereign will induce him to secularise the diplomatic agencies of the Holy See, and that the Roman embassy may be confided to a layman of intelligence and active mind, whose study of England, her power and her opinions, her deep-rooted sentiments of religion, rather than the dissimilarity of her doctrines to those of Rome, may induce the present and future Pontiffs to respect her for what she is, and not vainly seek to make her what she is never likely to be.

CHAPTER XV.

Occupation of Ferrara—Revolution in Lucca—Proclamation of the Grand Duke—Rejoicings of the people—The Sovereign's flight and breach of faith—National guards—Return of the Duke—The merchants' petition to the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Rome and the Senate—Protest of the King of Sardinia; resources of his kingdom—Sardinian reforms—Union of the Italian Customs—Moral force and the Quarterly Review.

NOTHING was more likely to hasten the rising in Italy and all the South of Europe than the occupation of Ferrara, by the Austrian Army. Every heart in the Peninsula, which imagined itself menaced by the same blow, responded to the cry of the Ferrarese. The movement became general, all flew to arms, the inhabitants of convents, as well as the public. Troops were instantly marched to Bologna, from thence

to be immediately dispatched to those points where attacks were most to be dreaded, the defile of St. Gallo, the road from Bologna to Ferrara, Castel Franco between Bologna and Modena, and lastly the defile of Bastia, near Agrigente. From Forli to Ancona, two important positions, troops were drawn out along the shores of the Adriatic to form a line of observation. In the mean time the Pontifical Government vigorously carried into effect the arming of the civic guard at Rome. All classes were inspired by the patriotic spirit of their Sovereign; each passionately desired to revive, by some brilliant action, the remembrance of the heroic deeds of the Roman legions; and it is easy to imagine that the general enthusiasm had traversed the frontier.

The political movements of the Pontifical states reached Lucca at the end of July, in the evening of the twenty fourth at about half past nine, at the moment when the Coffee-house was crowded, a voice was heard to cry—
“Long live Pius IX.”

The hereditary Prince, much alarmed, rushed to the guard-house, from whence he returned with several officers, followed by the carbineers, who ordered the master of the coffee-house to shut up his house immediately, and to do so every night at ten o'clock; and the police were immediately instructed to pursue the authors of the disturbance. The disorder, far from being quelled, increased, and the Duke of Lucca thought fit to publish a decree four days after this apparently trifling event, the 28th of July, disbanding the unpopular carbineers, and giving orders for the raising of a body of foot and of dragoons. This decree seemed to indicate the desire of the Duke to side with his people. Affairs continued in the same state of excitement until the first of September 1848, when a further decree was published.

The Duke stated his wish to govern his subjects by love, rather than by fear—not by arbitrary measures, but by kindness, and promises to take into consideration as speedily as possible,

everything that could conduce to their happiness, intimating his wish to be guided by the example of his neighbours, the Tuscans.

He then announces the organisation of the Civic Guard; and states that he has directed the Council of State to suggest for his approbation, all reforms that may tend to their satisfaction.

Great rejoicings took place upon the promulgation of this edict. Seven young men, who nine days before this event had disarmed the guard, when they attempted to fire on the people, were the special objects of popular admiration. The Standards of Lucca, Tuscany, and Rome were intermixed, and the public tranquillity was only disturbed by the joyful notes of music and the sounds of the church bells.

The clergy prepared to solemnise this happy event in the cathedral with great splendour.

On the eighth the Duke of Lucca went to Massa, a town a short distance from Lucca, but

belonging to the Duke of Modena, and there he declared that the edict had been wrung from him by force, that he disowned it, and by no means intended to carry it into effect. On hearing this the National Guard immediately re-organized itself at Lucca, and the Marquis of Mazzarosa, who some days before had resigned the office of President of the Council of State, set off to join the Duke, and to advise him to return to his State.

The Duke's answer was an edict to nominate a regency, of which the Marquis was to be the president! This was a convincing proof that his signature had not been torn from him by force or stratagem. The Council of Ministers at Lucca refused to publish this ridiculous edict, and called on the Prince to return to his dominions. In the meantime agitation became more general; a strong party wished to enforce the return of the Duke to Lucca, and to effect this object they threatened to seize his revenues and furniture, and to se-

questrate his palace. The population of all the neighbourhood of Lucca assembled in the town, where they met the crowds brought by the railroads from Pisa and Leghorn. The public excitement became general, the streets were impassable, and in order to encourage the patriotic demonstrations, a crowd of women paraded the town, preceded by the Pontifical banners. Others were occupied in enrolling volunteers to march to the succour of Ferrara, when suddenly, in the midst of this general excitement, the Duke of Lucca appeared, accompanied by his son and heir, Ferdinand Charles. This was a good stroke of policy, as only a few days before the hereditary Prince had been stoned by the people. The state of degradation into which the house of Bourbon has fallen—that house which ought to have held the first place among the sovereign families of Europe, and whose origin can be traced to the birth of Monarchy—is truly afflicting.

The flame lighted at Lucca reached Leg-

horn. The inhabitants of the latter town, who had come by hundreds to Lucca, encouraged by the success of their neighbours, made violent demonstrations at the theatre in favor of the National Guard. A deputation consisting of the Standard Bearer, the Municipal Council, and the merchants of Florence addressed a petition to the Grand Duke to demand the organisation of the National Guard. The Grand Duke Leopold did not hesitate, as his neighbour Charles Louis had done. He received most graciously the deputation from Leghorn, which waited upon him to beg he would immediately carry into effect the desired organisation. The Grand Duke tried all he could to efface the remembrance of the shameful conduct of the petty tyrants of the neighbourhood, who, instead of trying by good conduct to efface the remembrance of the origin of their power, tormented and humiliated their subjects as the pro-Consuls of old, when sent into conquered countries.

The 5th of September, 1847, all Leghorn was thrown into an excess of joy by the news of the Grand Duke Leopold's acquiescence in the demands of the people. More than 10,000 men gathered under his banner, uniting the busts of Pius IX. and Leopold, and they paraded the streets by torch light till late in the night. These touching demonstrations lasted several days unaccompanied by any outbreak, and from the highest to the lowest ranks, all seemed inspired with the liveliest gratitude to the generous Prince who had given them so striking a proof of his confidence and sympathy.

While these fêtes were taking place at Florence the Pope published, on the 2nd of October at Rome, a new *motu proprio* for the organisation of a Senate.

The council is to consist of 100 members, namely, 64 proprietors; 32 lawyers, *savans*, artists, bankers, merchants, &c.; and four representing the ecclesiastical body. The municipality will be composed of a senator or mayor,

and eight deputy mayors, who were first to be chosen by the Government, and afterwards to be elected by the council. The members of the latter are to be renewed by thirds annually. In the evening the entire population of Rome was repaired to Monte Cavallo, the residence of the Pope, to congratulate his Holiness on the enactment of the municipal law, of which that capital had been deprived during several centuries.

The King of Sardinia had protested against the occupation of Ferrara, and sent a copy of that protest to every court in Europe—and he wrote to offer the Pope assistance in case the Pontifical States should be menaced by Austria.

This Prince possesses an army of 84,000 men, his arsenals contain vast stores and ammunition, at Alexandria 300 pieces of cannon, at Genoa 200, together with a navy composed of 4 ships of the line, and 5 frigates. It had long been predicted that Piedmont would rank among the Continental Nations, as one of the

first for moral and intellectual qualities. Since the day that Emmanuel Philibert won the battle of St. Quentin at the head of the Spanish troops, and regained the throne of his ancestors, the Princes of the House of Savoy had learnt to raise themselves into an important power, and to profit by the high discipline of their troops, and the possession of the key of the Alps. Piedmont came later on the scene of action, and has therefore all her original strength, while the Nations around her were already exhausted. In the last revolution the King had to struggle against his ministers, who were, however, soon dismissed, in order that he might place his Government on the same footing as that of Pius IX., and adopt measures in concert with the Envoys of Rome and Florence. The first effect of this change was to remove the police from the control of common corporals, who imagined themselves Ministers of State, a brutal and tyrannical set of men, whose acts created animosity between the King

and the people. The promulgation of a new Penal Code, the institution of a Supreme Council, and of a Court of Appeal, a law on the liberty of the Press, including the freedom granted at Rome by Pius IX., and lastly, the diminution of the taxes, were hailed with universal satisfaction, and will add eternal glory to the name of King Charles Albert. But the crowning policy of Charles Albert was the decree of the 3rd November, 1847, which established, in conjunction with the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Duke of Lucca, the union of the customs of their respective States; the document in question expressing a hope, at the same time, that the King of the two Sicilies and the Duke of Modena would ere long feel it to be their interest, as well as that of the whole Peninsula, to join them in this liberal and important measure.

The Union of the Italian Customs will be the most remarkable event of the present

epoch, for it is that which facilitates the good understanding of the three powers, who wish to contribute by their union to all that can increase the dignity and prosperity of Italy. Whether it was public opinion that opened the eyes of the Pope, the King and the Grand Duke, or how they were enlightened, little matters, the miracle is accomplished. Under Napoleon, the union of Italy was very negative ; the Italians furnished money and soldiers to the Great Emperor, and lived under one Administration, but the people were not united, and it was among them that union was most necessary. What will Austria do ? Will she still continue in misfortune with the approbation of the Quarterly Review ? For the last fifty years that power has met only with reverses, on the Rhine, in the Alps, in Italy ; and in the midst of all these disasters she has lost half her territory. Till then she had the good fortune to take from Italy a compensation for that which she had been unlucky enough to

lose in Germany, to gain by Trieste and Venice what she had lost in Bavaria; but now what can she take? and where? The author of the article Pius IX. in the Quarterly Review, will, without doubt, suggest some clever expedient. He has declared war against the moral force of the Pontiff, he pretends not to understand the expression, which, however, may be explained in several ways; by moral force, is meant the force of truth, of common sense, of reason, of the power of judging rightly, and even comprehends the means by which, under Pius IX., Italy has been regenerated without being obliged to have recourse to arms, or conspiracies. All the world, except the Quarterly Review, must be convinced, that the Italians have joined hand in hand to bring about quietly the regeneration of Italy, and the amelioration and maintenance of the laws, which can alone preserve tranquillity.

CHAPTER XVI.

Revolutionary movements in the two Sicilies... Ferdinand and the Archbishop Cocle... Insurrection in Sicily... Departure of the Count D'Aquila... Bombardment of Palermo... Return of the Prince... Proclamation of the King... Answer of the Marquis Spedalotto... Italian liberty... British guarantee... Neapolitan Constitution... Pius IX. the model of princes—The fate of Austrian Lombardy and German Austria... Conclusion.

THE great planet of the Vatican attracted within its sphere all the satellites of the Peninsula. After Lucca, Tuscany, Piedmont, and Sardinia, the revolutionary spirit extended itself over the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. In the month of August, 1847, the Command-

ant in Calabria applied to the government for a re-inforcement; and the position of the Abruzzi, and especially that of Sicily, became alarming to the King of Naples. Ferdinand, justly intimidated by the political excitement of the people, vainly imagined he could appease them, and give general satisfaction to the people by proclaiming a reduction in taxation, and the encouragement of commerce, in lieu of the political concessions so loudly demanded; but it was no longer, either in Naples or Sicily, a simple feeling of discontent. Centuries of oppression and misrule had ripened that feeling into revolution, which was not to be restrained, and could only be guided as at Rome, Florence, or Turin; but unfortunately, the forte of the Neapolitan Bourbons is not that of politics. It is worthy of notice that it is not the King who governs at Naples—he is incompetent to the task of keeping the machinery of government in motion. This prince, the most feeble and degenerate of that illustrious house, had long

given up the helm of affairs, and all the power of the crown, into the hands of his Confessor, the Archbishop Cocle, who exercises at the same time a powerful ascendancy over the Queen—a man, whose education, manners, and sentiments are little suited to the liberal opinions of the age. The only business well understood, and sedulously practised by the Archbishop, was the sale of places, from the highest to the lowest, upon the modern commercial principle of ready money only. Under these circumstances, it may be conceived that such a man would have resisted change or reform to the last extremity, until the best blood of Naples and Sicily, had been shed in the contest, and the nation depopulated, rather than have advised the King to follow the example of Pius IX. by the establishment of institutions suitable to the ideas and wants of the 19th century.

The branch of the Bourbons, established upwards of a century in Southern Italy, has

hitherto sought in vain to create a nationality in the two Sicilies, separate from the other States; the geography of the country, their race and history, have all opposed themselves to this theory. The Sicilians have rejected the idea with the greater pertinacity, by reason of having been deprived of their representative Government, which they had enjoyed for centuries until 1816, when by a *coup d'état*, the dynasties of Naples, Austria, and England, united the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily—and despotism became established in the latter country, instead of the ancient constitution, which was somewhat analogous to that of England, and had been guaranteed by that power. The loyalty and honor of the British cabinet was satisfied with a condition which it caused to be inserted in the treaty—[law of 8th October, 1816]—which provided that no augmentation of the public revenue should take place without first of all convoking the Sicilian Parliament. However, Sicily was not satisfied,

and, in 1820, she revolted in favour of her old constitution, without desiring a change of dynasty. Austrian intervention in 1821 replaced the Neapolitans and the Sicilians under the despotism of the Bourbons, although a mortal hatred existed between the two kingdoms. From 1821 continual conspiracies had disturbed the public mind in Sicily, all having the same noble object—the restitution of the constitution of which they were so unjustly deprived—still the Government constantly persevered in its obstinate refusal to accede to the wishes of the people, or enter into that spirit of progress which was gaining converts, even in the hearts of Kings in other States. The prayers and supplications of the Sicilians were alike rejected by the Court of Naples, who looked upon their demands as sacrilegious, and despairing of justice, as well as tired of any longer supporting the odious yoke of Naples, they raised the standard of revolt on the 12th of January, 1848.

As soon as the news reached the King and the Archbishop Cocle, they sent the Count D'Aquila, a royal prince, 24 years of age, to commence his political career in the midst of difficulties which would have appalled an older and an abler head. The Prince sailed for Palermo on the 15th of January, with nine steam frigates, and an army of 8,000 men, but his council soon recognised the impossibility of bringing the Sicilians to reason by force of arms; the scaffold, the troops, and the bombardment were alike useless and abortive. The Prince returned to Naples, and faithfully recounted to his Sovereign that the Sicilians were not to be intimidated by cannon; when Ferdinand, who had hitherto resisted every advance in the cause of reform, became suddenly animated with the love of liberty; and on the 19th January, after a deliberation in council, which lasted ten hours, gave a constitution to his subjects, after having vainly endeavoured to reduce Palermo to obedience, by

one of the most cruel and unnecessary bombardments ever recorded in the history of civilised States.

After the official publication of the constitution, the articles of which have been so recently brought under the public notice in the journals of the day, the King published a proclamation of Amnesty, which was as follows :—

“His Majesty, who always obeys the generous inspirations of his royal heart, has condescended to ordain that the ministers of grace and justice, and of the general police of the kingdom, should, within the shortest possible delay, submit to him the names of the political condemned and prisoners, in order that he may exercise his clemency. His Majesty at the same time desires, that measures best calculated to re-establish the public tranquillity should be adopted.”

We know not what generous inspirations had ever been awakened in the heart of Ferdinand before the event in question, as the archives of his kingdom present no confirma-

tion of his royal clemency, but we are sceptical enough to feel that with one half of his dominions wrested from his grasp—and for ever, had it so pleased the victorious Sicilians—and the other in a state of open revolt, Ferdinand's true engagements were sacrificed at the shrine of expediency, and that he sought by a show of generosity, ere it was too late, to save himself from the ignominious position of an exiled tyrant, and that that heart which never felt for others was now sensitive only to its personal interests. To the barren propositions of the Neapolitan Government, the the Sicilians, who well knew by the sad experience of years of anguish, and despair, what value was to be placed in the promises of their Sovereign, returned the following admirable and spirited answer through the Governor, which will ever remain in the annals of this nation, as one of the most curious and characteristic monuments of Sicilian resolution:—

“Excellency,—I communicated to the General Committee the letter which your Excellency addressed to me this day, and I am instructed to reply to you that the propositions mentioned in the letter of your Excellency cannot be entertained by a population which, for nine days a prey to the horrors of a bombardment, has gloriously asserted its right to those national institutions which can alone ensure durable happiness to this island.

“The committee, which is the faithful interpreter of the firm resolution of the people, accordingly persists in the resolutions I have already transmitted to your Excellency in its name, and I repeat that the people are determined not to lay down their arms or to consent to any suspension of hostilities, until Sicily, represented by her Parliament at Palermo, shall adapt to our present wants the Constitution which our country has possessed for many ages, which was amended in 1812 under the influence of Great Britain, and was implicitly confirmed by the Royal decree of the 11th of December, 1816.

“The Marquis de Spedalotto.”

Liberty depends upon the Italians, not upon the Kings of Italy; and there are few, if any, weak enough to imagine that Ferdinand would

hesitate to cancel his signature, and violate his royal word, if he felt himself strong enough to re-assume by force, the sceptre of despotism which has been broken by the revolution of January. The Sicilians then did well to resist, and the fruits of that resistance are the accomplishment of their reasonable and just expectations, which require only the guarantee of the British Government—to whom, notwithstanding former transactions, they look for the maintenance and faithful execution of their compact with the Neapolitan Government, in order to ensure their loyalty and immediate return to their duty as obedient and contented subjects.

The Constitution given to the Neapolitans—similar in almost every respect to that of France, crowned the revolutionary efforts of Southern Italy, and at the same moment annihilated kingly despotism and republican theories—henceforth constitutional liberty will reign in the kingdom of the two Sicilies. It is to be

regretted that this glorious result of the people's resolute determination has been stained with their blood, and that the concessions now accorded to the Neapolitans and Sicilians were not achieved by an amicable compromise between the people and their Prince, as at Rome, Florence, and Turin; but it is a misfortune with some men that they can only do justice when no other course is left open to them, and ever spoil the fairest opportunities of doing right.

It now becomes the Italians to improve their conquests; they have shown how well they understood their duties, by their admirable moderation, and perfect calm during all the ignoble provocations of which they were the objects; and having learnt to suffer, they will now willingly endure all that is necessary for the safety of their country, and the regeneration of the peninsula. Men are not wanting—for when noble thoughts are in requisition, the means of good government are easily obtained.

Pius IX., although twelve years absent from Rome, and to the moment of his accession, entirely absorbed in the simple administration of the affairs of his diocese, became in 15 days the model of princes.

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The constitution just accorded to the Romans, finishes our task, and adds another and a priceless jewel to the tiara. It may be predicted that the Italian Revolution will make the tour of the whole globe as did the French Revolution of 1798; at all events its effects will be felt throughout Europe.

Pius, the great has realized the hopes and aspirations—even the remotest dreams of all the politicians of the Italian peninsula for four hundred years. Not

only has he expelled the barbarians from Italy, but he has created a new country, a new people, and liberties without precedent for their important magnitude. Rome has become more than ever the metropolis of progress, the Italian oriflame, as much as in the days of the first sovereigns of Latium, and cheerfully do we respond to the enthusiastic cry of the Romans, echoed throughout Italy and the world—
“ Long live Pius IX !”

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